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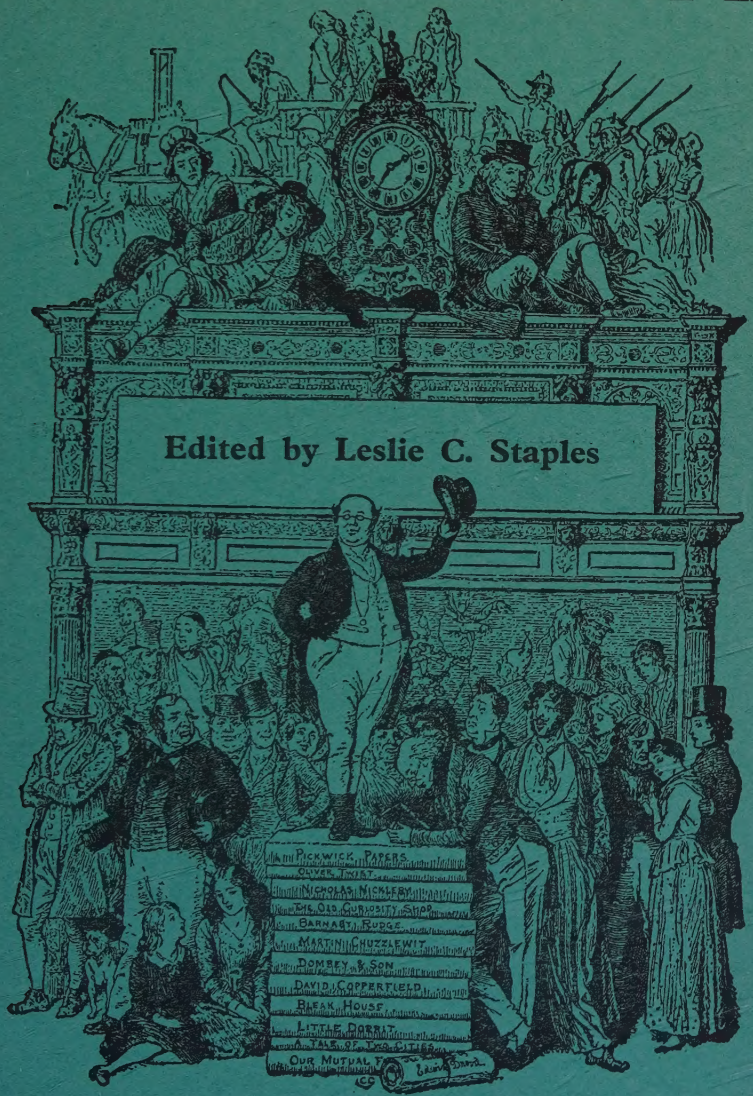

Edited by Leslie C. Staples

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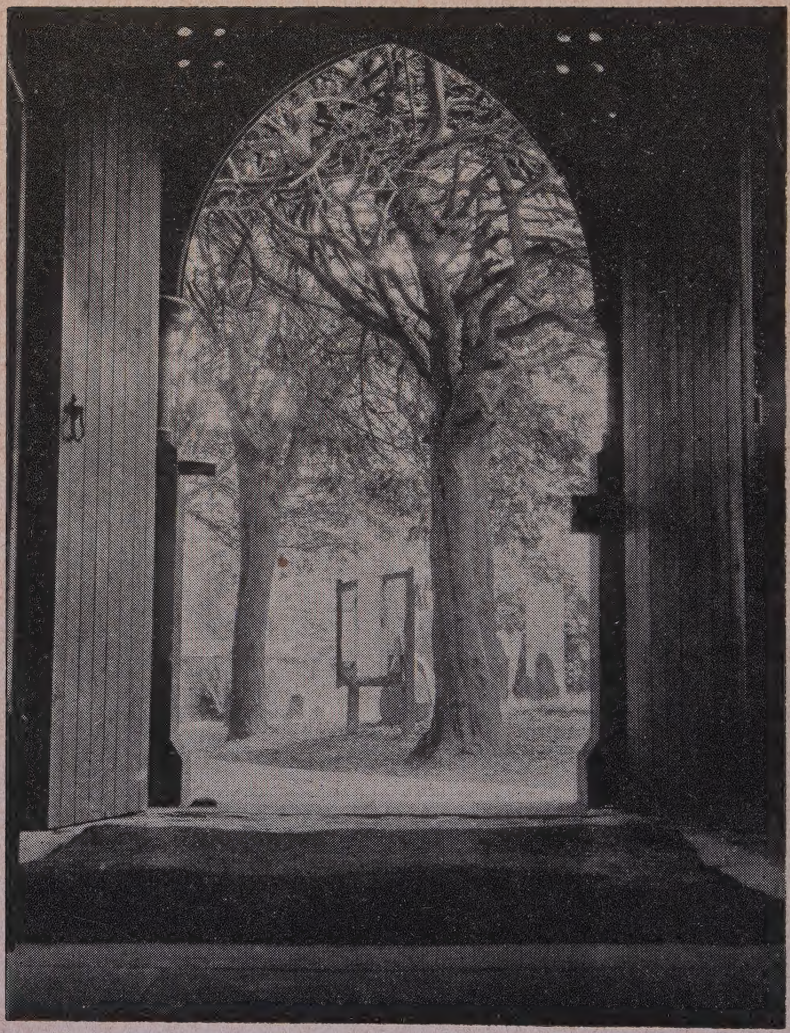

Chigwell Church

"I recollected one story there was in the village, how that on a certain night of the year, all the dead people came out of the ground and sat at the heads of their own graves till morning. This made me think how many people I had known were buried between the church door and the churchyard gate, and what a dreadful thing it would be to have to pass among them and know them again; so earthy and unlike themselves." Solomon Daisy.

Photograph: L.C.S.

THE DICKENSIAN

SUMMER NUMBER

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WHEN FOUND—

"There was great rejoicing all over the land when the Lords of the Council went . . . to hail the Princess Elizabeth as the new Queen of England."

Charles Dickens in
A Child's History of England.

* * * * *

Westminster Hall While the solemn ceremonial of the Lying-in-State of the late King George VI was taking place in Westminster Hall, an interesting commentary upon that building's intimate association with centuries of English history was broadcast by E. R. Thompson, parliamentary correspondent to the B.B.C. Recalling that not only have sovereigns received here the posthumous homage of their people, but that the magnificent hall was the setting of many other significant scenes, from state trials of kings and traitors to homely episodes such as Pepys recorded in his diary. It is noteworthy that one of the outstanding experiences of England's great novelist should have taken place there. Dickens himself tells us that when he saw himself "in all the glory of print" for the first time, "I walked down to Westminster Hall, and turned into it for half an hour, because my eyes were so dimmed with joy and pride, that they could not bear the street, and were not fit to be seen there."

* * * * *

Royal Dickensian An interesting story of H.M. King George VI has been told by Mr. W. Macqueen Pope. As Duke of York, the King attended a gathering of the Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades at Alexandra Palace. After the meeting he stepped out on the balcony and Mr. Macqueen Pope, then manager of the building, pointed out the many interesting objects to be seen in the extensive view before him. One of these was the tower of old Hornsey Parish Church. "I know something about that," said the Duke, "it was in the graveyard there that Betsey Trotwood's husband was buried."

* * * * *

Professor John Butt The brilliance of Professor John Butt's broadcast address in February will have been no surprise to those who had read in our volume for 1950 his series of articles on the composition of *David Copperfield*. Following those papers Professor Butt wrote for the English Association last year a paper on the composition of *Dombey and Son*, and his broadcast, perfect in form, diction and delivery, described his method of study. We earnestly hope that his Professorship of

English at King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne will afford him the time and opportunity to continue his studies on the composition of more of Dicken's novels, the results of which would be of great importance to the understanding of Dickens's pre-eminence as a novelist.

* * * * *

The Reading books The texts, specially arranged from his novels, which Dickens had privately printed for the purpose of his public readings are among the most valuable items of Dickensiana, for exceedingly few copies were produced. An account of them is to be found in *The Dickensian*, 1943, p. 75, in an article prepared with the advice of the late Count de Suzannet whose collection included a number of examples. In February Dickens's personal copy of his Reading arrangement of *The Cricket on the Hearth*, with numerous notes in his own hand, fetched $3,700 at the sale of the library of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. in New York. At the Gads Hill sale in 1870 it brought £25, and at the Cortland Field Bishop sale in New York in 1938, it changed hands at $4,000.

* * * * *

Frank Powell Columbia University has continued its search to establish the identity of Frank Powell, the original recipient of the copy of the first edition of *A Christmas Carol*, bearing the delightful inscription by the author which we printed in our last number. Their efforts have been rewarded by a letter from Mrs. Dean F. Fenn, Montclair, N.J., formerly Miss Virginia Powell. According to Mrs. Fenn's family Bible, a Frank Powell was the son of Thomas Powell, Mrs. Fenn's grandfather, whose associations with Dickens will be found in *The Dickensian*, 1947 and 1948. Frank Powell, her uncle, who was six years old in 1844, had come to America with his father in 1849 and later was killed on active service in the Civil War. His younger brother, Thomas, Jr., was Mrs. Fenn's father.

* * * * *

Radio Dickens The B.B.C.'s recent Sunday evening serialisation of *Oliver Twist* was among the most successful presentations of Dickens "on the air." The adaptation by Giles Cooper kept faithfully to the book in every particular, and the skilful production by Charles Lefeaux was invaluable. Led by the brilliant Fagin of John Gabriel, the cast was admirable. *A Tale of Two Cities* which was heard during the week about the same time, was more freely adapted. The distinguished Shakespearean actor, Donald Wolfit, was heard as Sydney Carton.

* * * * *

***The Carol* in America** We learn that the veteran Lionel Barrymore was heard as Scrooge in a radio version of *A Christmas Carol* for the 18th consecutive Christmas and Sir Ralph Richardson travelled out specially from England to appear in the same part on television. He was supported by many well-known English players, including Gypsy Raine, a descendant of Charles Dickens.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

"THE DEED" IN *DAVID COPPERFIELD*

By W. J. Carlton

IT is notorious that the pecuniary embarrassments of Mr. Wilkins Micawber, as recounted in *David Copperfield*, reflect with singular fidelity those of the novelist's father. Recent research has shown the parallel to be even closer than had hitherto been suspected. The earliest impressions received and retained by Charles Dickens in London were, Forster tells us, of his father's money involvements—"and how first he heard mentioned 'the deed,' representing in fact that crisis in his father's affairs which is ascribed in fiction to Mr. Micawber's. He knew it in later days to have been a composition with creditors; though at this earlier date he was conscious of having confounded it with parchments of a much more demoniacal description. One result from the awful document soon showed itself in enforced retrenchment. The family had to take up its abode in a house in Bayham Street, Camden Town."

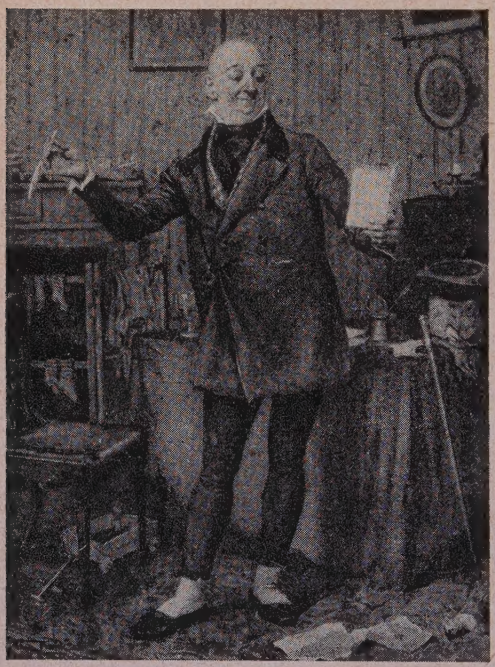
At the time of his appointment to the Navy Pay Office as seventh assistant clerk in 1805 John Dickens's salary was a mere £78 5*s*. a year. In 1809, when he married Elizabeth Barrow, it was £110, in 1812 (the year of Charles's birth) £140, and three years later it was increased to £200. Before his transfer from Chatham to London his emoluments had reached the respectable sum of £350, which he continued to draw until his discharge. In addition, he had since 1818 received £87 a year "for attending the payment of ships." Although he had now to support a wife and six children ranging in age from nine months to six years, and family allowances were not yet dreamed of, his income must be considered adequate for a civil servant of his rank. He had become a third-class clerk in the new Inspectors Branch for controlling Licensed Agents.

"Mr. Micawber's difficulties are almost overwhelming just at present," that worthy's spouse confided to her new lodger, David Copperfield. "If Mr. Micawber's creditors will not give him time, they must take the consequences; and the sooner they bring it to an issue the better. Blood cannot be obtained from a stone, neither can anything on account be obtained at present (not to mention law expenses) from Mr. Micawber." Micawber himself hinted that those difficulties dated from a marriage "so far prematurely entered into that I never recovered the expense."

The creditors becoming more pressing, Mrs. Micawber conceived the idea of setting up a boarding establishment for young ladies. "But I never found," said David, "that any young lady had been to school there; or that any young lady ever came, or proposed to come; or that the least preparation was ever made to receive any young lady. The only visitors I ever saw or heard of, were creditors." We know that Mrs. Dickens made just such an attempt, with no greater success, to start a school at 4 Gower Street North, whither the family had moved from Bayham Street in the autumn of 1823. The words put into David's mouth are a paraphrase of those written by Dickens to his biographer some six months earlier: "Nobody ever came to school, nor do I

recollect that anybody ever proposed to come, or that the least preparation was made to receive anybody. But I know that we got on very badly with the butcher and the baker ; that very often we had not too much for dinner ; and that at last my father was arrested."

The baker was one James Karr. His shop was at 4 Camden Place, Camden Town,* just round the corner from Bayham Street, and his bill had run up to £40. He may have been immortalised in the guise of the " dirty-faced man " (David Copperfield thought he was a bootmaker) who " used to edge himself into the passage as early as seven o'clock in the morning, and call up the stairs to Mr. Micawber—'Come! You ain't out yet, you know. Pay us, will you? Don't hide, you know ; that's mean. I wouldn't be mean if I was you. Pay us, will you? You just pay us, d'ye hear? Come!' Receiving no answer to these taunts, he would mount in his wrath to the words 'swindlers' and 'robbers' ; and these being ineffectual too, would sometimes go to the extremity of crossing the street, and roaring up at the windows of the second floor, where he knew Mr. Micawber was. At these times, Mr. Micawber would be transported with grief and mortification, even to the length (as I was once made aware by a scream from his wife) of making motions at himself with a razor ; but within half an hour afterwards, he would polish up his shoes with extraordinary pains, and go out, humming a tune with a greater air of gentility than ever."



Wilkins Micawber

By Frank Reynolds

It was the baker, in any case, who was responsible for bringing to a head the crisis which had been so long impending. Mr. Micawber, it will be remembered, was arrested early one morning, and carried over to the King's Bench Prison in the Borough. John Dickens was apprehended on 20th February, 1824, at the suit of James Karr, and after a brief interval in a sponging-house was confined in the Marshalsea as an insolvent debtor. Practically all the family possessions having been seized by the brokers and

* Camden Place is now part of Camden High Street.

sold, Mrs. Dickens and her children (with the exception of Charles, who was working at the blacking warehouse) joined her husband in the prison three days after his arrest, as did the Micawbers in the novel.

"Mr. Micawber's affairs, although past their crisis were very much involved by reason of a certain 'Deed,'" said Copperfield, "of which I used to hear a great deal, and which I suppose, now, to have been some former composition with his creditors." Forster assumed with good reason that this allusion to the "Deed" was a recollection of Dickens's own boyhood, and its nature can now be explained.

One of Mrs. Dickens's brothers, Thomas Culliford Barrow, had entered the Navy Pay Office on the same day as her future husband and rose to be head of the Prize Branch at a salary of £710 per annum. After nearly fifty-two years' service he retired in February 1857 and died a few weeks later. Among the papers found after his death by his son Culliford Barrow was a Warrant of Attorney dated 14th August 1819, setting forth that in consideration of the sum of £200 paid to John Dickens by James Milbourne, of Kennington Green, Surrey, an annuity of £26 was secured to the latter during the term of John Dickens's life. "By an endorsement on the warrant," wrote Barrow's son, "I find that it was cancelled 26 May 1821 on a payment made to James Milbourne of £213 by my father as his sole charge, the amount never having been refunded to him by Dickens." Culliford Barrow's note, dated 11th May 1857, and initialled "C.B.", is now in the possession of his niece, Mrs. A. M. Simpson, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of it.

The payment of £26 a year to which the elder Dickens was committed by his pact with James Milbourne had clearly become, before the expiration of two years, an intolerable burden. His brother-in-law had reluctantly put his name to the note under promise that he would never be called upon to honour his signature, the promise had not been kept, and Thomas C. Barrow (aided it is believed by his uncle John Barrow, a wealthy wool merchant of Bristol) had found the money which released John Dickens from his bond. John's pusillanimity in this transaction goes far to account for the coolness between him and his wife's family.

At last, David Copperfield tells us, the "Deed" appeared to be got out of the way, somehow; at all events, it ceased to be the rock-ahead it had been; "and Mrs. Micawber informed me that 'her family' had decided that Mr. Micawber should apply for his release under the Insolvent Debtors Act, which would set him free, she expected, in about six weeks."

The law relating to insolvent debtors was so severe that a debtor was treated as a quasi-criminal. A judgment creditor had the right to arrest the defendant on mesne process and to take his body in satisfaction of the debt. He could be kept in prison until he paid or, if he did not pay, for an indefinite time, a state of things which is graphically described in *Pickwick* and *Little Dorrit*. The outlook for John Dickens would have been black indeed but for a timely legacy which came to retrieve his fortunes. He had

already spent two months in the Marshalsea when his mother, Elizabeth Dickens, died on 28th April, 1824, leaving £500 to her elder son William and £450 to her younger son John. The latter, she explained in her will, had received several sums of money from her some years before.

The debt of £40 due to Karr, the baker, was paid into court, and among the petitions of insolvent debtors listed to be heard at Justice Hall, in the Old Bailey, on 27th May, 1824, was that of "Dickens, John (sued as John Dickins), formerly of Portsmouth, Hants, afterwards of Chatham, Kent, then of Bayham-Street, Camden-Town, Middlesex, and late of Gower-Street North, in the same County, a Clerk in the Navy Pay-Office." (*London Gazette*, 4 May, 1824). On the day after the hearing John Dickens was discharged from the prison.

Mr. Micawber's creditors, we are told, were not implacable. Even the aggrieved bootmaker had declared in open court that he bore no malice, but that when money was owing to him he liked to be paid. He said he thought it was human nature. When his case was over Mr. Micawber returned to the prison, as some fees were to be settled, and some formalities observed, before he could be actually released. The sole condition on which the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors granted its protection to insolvent non-traders and discharged them from prison was that they should not only give up all their property, but declare fully all the debts and liabilities they had incurred. If this was done to the satisfaction of the Court, it released them from imprisonment but did not entirely free them from debt, for if later on they were in a position to pay twenty shillings in the pound they were still held liable to make up that amount. This probably accounts for the fact that the affairs of the elder Dickens occupied the attention of the Court on a number of subsequent occasions. Although the record of the proceedings in his case has been destroyed, with others not considered to be of permanent public interest, some information about them is available from other sources.

One of the creditors, Richard Newnham, had been a neighbour in Chatham, and is listed in Pigot's Directory of 1826-27, under "Gentry and Clergy," as Richard Newnham, Esq., Ordnance Place. Like John Dickens, he had subscribed two guineas to the fund for the relief of sufferers in the fire which destroyed property in that town to the value of nearly £100,000 on 3rd March, 1820. According to Robert Langton, who explored the Chatham connections of the Dickens family very thoroughly, the Old Lady of "Our Parish" was a Mrs. Newnham who lived at No. 5 Ordnance Terrace. The Dickenses lived at No. 2, and Mrs. Newnham is said to have been very kind to the children, her especial favourite being the youngest girl, Letitia Mary. It may be noted that Letitia's youngest brother, born in 1827, was christened Augustus Newnham Dickens.

Richard Newnham was appointed assignee (or trustee, as we should now call him) of John Dickens's estate and effects, but declined to act. A meeting of creditors was called for 3rd January 1825, at the office of John P. Henslow, solicitor, in Rochester, for the purpose of nominating some other creditor in his place. The

new assignee appears to have been John Dodd, a grocer and cheesemonger of 10 Norfolk Street, Fitzroy Square, London. It was over his shop that the Dickens family had taken rooms when they travelled to London from Portsea in the winter of 1816, but their stay was brief as John was transferred to Chatham in the following summer. In November 1823 the grocer was himself arrested for debt and was released from prison on 4th February, 1824.

A further stage in the progress of John Dickens's arrangements with his creditors is indicated in the following excerpt from the *London Gazette* of 22nd October, 1825 :

> " In the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors.—In the matter of the petition of John Dickens, an Insolvent.
>
> Notice is hereby given, that the Assignee under this Court of the above-named Insolvent, will on Wednesday the 2d day of November next, at Eleven O'clock in the Forenoon, attend at the office of Mr. J. Henslow, Rochester, in the County of Kent, to make a dividend out of the money belonging to the estate of the Insolvent, amongst the Creditors whose debts are expressed in the schedule, admitted as sworn to and filed under this Court by the said Insolvent."

Just a year later, notice was given through the same channel of a meeting of creditors on 13th November, 1826, at Henslow's office to make a second and final dividend out of the money belonging to the debtor's estate.

On his release from the Marshalsea Dickens *père* had resumed his interrupted duties at Somerset House, and took his family to lodge with Mrs. Elizabeth Roylance (who sat for Mrs. Pipchin in *Dombey and Son*) at 37 Little College Street, Camden Town, while Charles continued to go to and from the blacking warehouse, now at 3 Chandos Street, Covent Garden. As early as March 1824 the question of John's superannuation had been raised at the Navy Pay Office, ostensibly because of an infirmity which occasioned frequent absences ; and in the following December the fact that he had been compelled to take the benefit of the Insolvent Debtors Act after an imprisonment of three months was invoked as an additional reason for dispensing with his services. On 9th March 1825 he retired with a pension of £145 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, of which £25 was to be deducted in favour of John Dodd, assignee, by order of the Insolvent Debtors Court (P.R.O. PMG 24/1).

A Commission of Bankruptcy was awarded against Dodd on 22nd December, 1826, but two months later he obtained his discharge, having " in all things conformed himself according to the directions of the several Acts of Parliament made concerning bankrupts." The Dickens family, after a short stay at Johnson Street and a still shorter one at the Polygon, Somers Town, were again living over the grocer's shop in Norfolk Street in October 1829 and remained there until May 1831.

Six months afterwards the affairs of John Dickens were again before the Insolvent Debtors Court, as the following announcement in the *London Gazette* of 22nd November, 1831, shows :

> " The Matters of the Petitions of the Prisoners hereinafter named (the same having been filed in the Court) are appointed

to be heard at the Court House, in Portugal-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on Tuesday, the 13th day of December, 1831, at Nine O'clock in the Forenoon . . .

"On Thursday, the 15th day of December, 1831, at the same Hour and Place. Dickens, John (sued as John Dickenson), first of No. 13, Johnson-Street, Somer's-Town, then of No. 10, Norfolk-Street, Middlesex Hospital, then of No. 21, George-Street, Adelphi, and of North-End, Hampstead, and last of No. 3, Belle Vue, Hampstead, all in Middlesex, Superannuated Clerk in the Navy Pay-Office."

This notification is of some interest as it establishes the order of John Dickens's frequent changes of domicile. The address at Belle Vue, Hampstead, seems to have escaped the notice of all Dickens's biographers. Mr. S. J. Butcher, the Borough Librarian, informs me that Belle Vue connected Haverstock Hill with Hampstead Green and was opposite the present Town Hall, stretching from just south of the first fire station to just south of St. Stephen's Church. No. 3 was apparently the house on the north side of the fire station and thus stood almost immediately opposite the Town Hall.

PERSONAL AND BUSINESS RELATIONS OF CHARLES DICKENS AND THOMAS COKE EVANS*

By Gerald G. Grubb,
Wake Forest College, North Carolina.

FOR decades the identity and significance of Thomas Coke Evans has been lost to Dickensians and to the historians of journalism. Although his name appears in a letter from Dickens to Arthur Smith which has been published in the standard editions of Dickens's letters, no editor has identified him. Walter Dexter published at least four letters that refer to him by name and two by allusion.† One of these was first published by James T. Fields who omitted Evans's name from the text.‡ A general notion of his life, personality, pursuits, and tragic end can be obtained from the following obituary:§

Thomas Coke Evans, a well-known essayist and journalist, committed suicide at his lodgings in New York City on November 7. He was born in 1834, the son of a Methodist minister

* This study has been aided by a grant from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

† *Nonesuch Letters*, III, 89, 91, 95, 115, 115-116.

‡ *Yesterdays with Authors*, p. 156.

§ In 1948, Professor Richard D. Altick and I undertook to identify Thomas Coke Evans, and I must assume my share of the responsibility for his fusion of T. C. Evans, the Boston advertising agent, with T. C. Evans, the New York journalist. The difficulty was that both men had lived in New England, were sons of ministers, were handsome and cultured with similar mannerisms, both were born and died near the same dates. After much research I found in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (January 21st, 1905) an obituary notice that definitely established the identity of T. C. Evans, the Boston advertising agent as being different from T. C. Evans, the New York journalist.

stationed or itinerant in the Greene County region of New York, and came to New York City before his majority to take a position as a proof reader in *The Tribune* office.

About 1858 he became a writer for the New York *World*, whose publisher, "Nat" Bangs, nicknamed Evans "The Baron," in recognition of his already courtly and magisterial manner. As a correspondent of the *World* he accompanied the Prince of Wales on his hurried cisatlantic trip, and Abraham Lincoln on his way from Chicago to Washington to be inaugurated President for the first time. Since his entrance into the journalistic field, as the editor of the *New York Times Book Review* says, "Evans has been a friend of authors and a writer of good parts himself, a widely read man with a vast fund of information, too, based on personal observation, a man of good taste and judgment, and honest, sympathetic critic of literature and life. Personally, in these later years, he was of commanding presence, a handsome old man who seemed to retain much of the vigor of youth. He was always cheerful, and always a welcome visitor wherever he went. In the old days they called him "the baron" because there was an old-world quality in his native dignity, his impeccable manners, his knowledge of the world, and the name stuck to him to the last among his intimate friends. Mr. Evans contributed to many newspapers and magazines articles on many literary topics, signed and unsigned; he was always an alert and competent reviewer of contemporary literature, while he spoke with authority of much of the literature that has stood the test of time. But even when he seemed cheerful latterly he was suffering pain. A lingering, hopeless malady afflicted him, and this caused his death.*

In the late months of 1858, Evans conceived the idea of bringing Charles Dickens to America on a reading tour. He rightly felt that his first task was to convince Dickens that he would be kindly received in America; for the public had, he believed, forgotten the storm provoked by *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. In order to provide himself with sufficient evidence of this changed attitude, he addressed letters to persons in all parts of the country, "whose positions seemed to give them the right to interpret the sentiments on this point of the communities among which they lived." He said that he received replies from all sorts of people—"governors, senators, bishops, editors, authors"—and that the burden of their remarks was "that Mr. Dickens might securely count upon a generous and cordial welcome."†

As an example of his correspondence, he quotes the following letter which he wrote from New York City to the Honorable Millard Fillmore, a former President of the United States, then of Buffalo, New York, on November 30th, 1858:

> I am about visiting London with the hope of inducing Mr. Charles Dickens to give a series of readings in the United States. Suitable assurances from prominent men that his reception

* *Publishers' Weekly*, LXX (November 17th, 1906), 1362.

† Thomas C. Evans, *Of Many Men* (New York: The American News Company, 1888), pp. 3-4. The last portion of this article will be devoted very largely to this book.

here will be one of general welcome will materially aid the accomplishment of my purpose. If you share the conviction which I have found among men of letters and others whom I have consulted, that his visit would be attended with that welcome which his distinguished name and place in literature entitle him, I beg to request that you will add your own to the similar assurances I have already received and which I shall have the honor of placing before Mr. Dickens on my arrival in London.*

Evans presents three letters from prominent men which he says are representative of many others that he received. The first on January 6th, 1859, to Henry Jarvis Raymond, author and congressman. Raymond's reply was:

I have heard with a good deal of interest that you propose to induce Mr. Dickens to visit this country again and give a series of readings. I cannot doubt their entire success. His "American Notes" excited a good deal of severe, and in my judgment, very unjust prejudice in the public mind, but this, I think, has very largely abated, even in the quarters where it was strongest, and I am confident Mr. D. would now meet very general welcome.†

The second letter of encouragement that Evans prints was written by Watts Sherman who wrote:

I certainly feel much interested in your proposed efforts to induce Mr. Charles Dickens to visit this country again, and to give to our people in this country another opportunity of hearing his readings. Having recently heard him in Lodnon, I cannot doubt that he would meet with great success here should he come.

It may be supposed that the American people have some old grievances to settle with that gentleman relating to his remarks upon them many years ago. I do not for a moment believe there is at this late and more intelligent day any prejudice existing that need cause the slightest apprehension on that score, and shall be glad to know that Mr. Dickens is to return to us.‡

The third endorsement was written by Daniel E. Sickles, in which he says:

I trust you may be successful in your project. If the people of this country are made to understand that Mr. Dickens desires to make another visit, to do them justice and to undo the wrong done by his "Notes" and "Chuzzlewit," then I believe he will be well received. Those books, I have always believed, were less the frank expression of the author's real impressions than a concession to the general prejudice of the British public against the Americans. Those books were made for booksellers; but if Mr. Dickens, coming here now in the fullness of his fame and in the maturity of his genius, comes in a more catholic and less provincial spirit, he will be received not with the affection and enthusiasm inspired by his earlier

* Evans, *Of Many Men*, p. 4, footnote.
† *Ibid.*, p. 4.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

writings, but with the respect due to his exalted rank as an author.*

It must be admitted that these letters, in addition to being of interest in themselves, do give a pretty accurate cross-sectional sample of American thought about Dickens just before the Civil War.

In addition to his scheme to bring Dickens to America, Evans appears to have gone to London with some kind of authority from an unnamed Philadelphia publishing house to negotiate with certain writers, Dickens among them, for a story to be published in a newly projected magazine. He says:

> I had been commissioned by a prominent publishing house in Philadelphia, which had in view the establishment of a new monthly magazine, to obtain, if possible, an original story for that publication from either Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, or Bulwer, to be published exclusively in America or simultaneously with its appearance in England, and was armed with somewhat liberal discretion as to the amount to be paid for such a work.†

Evans also went to London armed with letters of introduction to Dickens from the latter's American friends, James T. Fields, Professor C. C. Felton and Richard Grant White. He was well received by Dickens who wrote the manager of his reading tours, Arthur Smith, on "Wednesday Twenty-Sixth January, 1859" directing him to welcome "with all possible cordiality the bearer, Mr. Thomas C. Evans from New York."‡ After explaining to Smith the importance of the gentlemen whose letters Evans bears, and calling his attention to the statement in one of them that the writer is addressing him [Dickens] directly on the same subject in another letter that has not yet arrived, he says:

> . . . it is quite clear that I must give some decided and definite answer to the American Proposal. Now, will you carefully discuss it with Mr. Evans before I enter into it at all? Then will you dine here with him on Sunday [January 30]—which I will propose to him—and arrange to meet at half-past four for an hour's discussion.
>
> The points are these:
>
> First. I have a very grave question within myself whether I could go to America at all.
>
> Secondly. If I did go, I could not possibly go before autumn.
>
> Thirdly. If I did go, how long must I stay?
>
> Fourthly. If the stay were a short one, could you go?
>
> Fifthly. What is his project? What could I make? What occurs to you upon his proposal?§

* *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

‡ Evans dates this letter "Wednesday Sixth of January, 1859," but the original, now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, confirms the date as stated here.

§ *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 89. Further evidence that Dickens took Evans's proposal seriously at first is furnished in a letter that he wrote to Arthur Smith on January 31st, saying: "I called once to see you about our American man . . . It is pretty clear to me that he is deputed by a body of publishers who rely on a great impulse being given to my books by my going to America. Therefore, I think he should have some distinct business document to show or send them. If a sum of money is to be got, it may be more easily got from a body than from an individual. If it is not to be got, then the whole thing goes . . ." *Ibid.*, III, 91. This "distinct business document" was, no doubt, the "conditional agreement" discussed below.

Evans tells how Arthur Smith met him at the appointed place, but does not say where that was, and carried him to Dickens's home at Tavistock House, where he found Dickens waiting for him in the library.

Although Dickens and Evans developed other business interests which we shall turn to presently, after January 31st, we hear no more of the proposed reading tour until July 20th, when Dickens wrote James T. Fields, in answer to the latter's request that the novelist make a second visit to America, concerning Evans proposal:

> As I have not yet heard from Mr. Evans of New York, I begin to think it likely (or rather, I begin to think it more likely than I thought it before) that he has not backers good and sufficient, and that his "mission" will go off. It is possible that I may hear from him before the month is out, and I shall not make any reading arrangements until it has come to a close; but I do not regard it as being probable that the said Evans will appear satisfactorily, either in the flesh or in the spirit.*

In part of this prediction Dickens was wrong; for, according to correspondence that will be introduced later, Evans did return to England about the last of July. It is also evident that Evans had raised a serious question in Dickens's mind: should he go to America after all, even if Evans' proposal failed? Dickens raises that point with Fields, saying: "Suppose I sent some trustworthy person out to America *now*, to negotiate with some sound, responsible, trustworthy man of business in New York, accustomed to public undertakings of such a nature . . . Have you any idea of any such person to whom you could recommend me?"†

When Evans did reach England again, he renewed his efforts to secure a story from some prominent British author, and it also appears that Dickens was not the only one whom he was trying to engage in an American tour. He prints a letter of Bulwer-Lytton's dated from Knebworth, August 6, 1859, in which the letter declined to enter into negotiations with him to write a story for his anonymous American publisher. Near the close of that letter Bulwer-Lytton indicated that Evans had also hinted at the possibility of a lecture tour in America, which he declined to consider.‡ The news of Evans's approach to Bulwer-Lytton had somehow reached Dickens. During the first weeks of August, Dickens had found reasons for distrust of Evans's ability to guarantee his proposals, if not of Evans himself. Therefore, Dickens, not knowing that Bulwer-Lytton's decision had already been made, wrote him a letter on August 9th, counselling caution:

> I recommend you to be very careful as to Mr. Evans of New York. I have made some private enquiries respecting him in America, and have ascertained that he has no capital whatever, though there seems to be nothing against his character. I have reasons to believe that if you made any agreement with him,

* *Nonesuch Dickens, Lettrs.*, III, 112.
† *Ibid.*, III, 112.
‡ *Of Many Men*, pp. 43-44.

he would take it to New York, and sell it to the highest bidder there. He is a kind of unaccredited agent, and seeks to live upon whatever such transactions would yield in the way of profit.*

The conclusion of Evans's negotiation with Dickens for a reading tour in America came to a head sometime immediately prior to August 16th, 1859. The two accounts of that climax do not agree in some important points. Evans, writing about it in 1883, claims that Dickens signed a conditional agreement to come to America.

> His recent domestic troubles, the establishment of a new periodical, *All the Year Round*, which in its first years seemed to exact from him unremitting attention, and other circumstances connected with his business affairs made it, in the opinion of his solicitor unwise for him to think of visiting America at that time, and so, at his request, I cancelled a conditional contract which we had signed looking to the visit he seemed anxious to make and abandoned the idea of coming with reluctance.†

Over against this statement written twenty-four years after the event and thirteen years after Dickens's death, we must place the statement of Dickens written on August 16th, 1859, within a few days of the event, to Wilkie Collins, who, no doubt, followed the whole matter with intelligence and interest. Knowing, as we do, the very high integrity of Dickens as a writer of personal letters, and the general untrustworthiness of Evans's statements, Dickens's account of what transpired between himself and Evans in the presence of witnesses must be taken as final and conclusive:

> Evans of New York proposed that I should sign a conditional agreement to go to America for 80 readings within a month after the receipt here of £10,000, if the said £10,000 were paid within three months of the agreement's date. If not, contract to be void. This agreement he meant to sell in America, if he could, and get a profit on. Driven into a corner, I thought of signing it, but Ouvry [his solicitor] was so strong against it, that I struck—refused—and knocked the whole thing on the head, so that he is going back empty-handed.‡

Thus ended the first phase of Dickens's dealings with Thomas Coke Evans of New York.

When Evans first arrived in London in January, 1859, he found Dickens in the midst of the labours inherent in the founding

* *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 115.

† Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

‡ *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 115-116. A copy of this conditional agreement written in Dickens's hand, now owned by Sir Leslie Farrer, was published recently by Mr. K. J. Fielding in *Notes and Queries*, March 17th, 1951, pp. 123-124. Since Mr. Fielding does not publish either a date or a signature, I assume that it was never signed. Its main provisions were as follows: (1) for the sum of £10,000 to be paid in cash in England by T. C. Evans, Dickens will give 80 readings in certain specified States and Cities in the United States, on condition that not fewer than four readings shall be held each week; (2) Dickens agrees to surrender all earnings realised on the 80 readings to T. C. Evans, and Evans must pay all travelling and personal expenses of Dickens, his secretary, and his servant from the time they leave England until their return; (3) Dickens agrees that a life insurance policy may be taken on him by T. C. Evans for £10,000 decreasing in value monthly as his [Dickens's] part of the contract is being fulfilled; (4) Dickens agrees that in case of illness or other causes preventing his discharge of any part of this agreement he will refund to Evans a proportionate part of the £10,000; and (5) this agreement shall be valid for three months after the day of its date, and Evans, is to incur no liabilities or forfeiture other than this agreement, if he proves unable to pay the £10,000.

of his new journal, *All the Year Round;* then while the question of the reading tour was being decided, he secured an agreement with Dickens and Wills for the publication of the new periodical in America. The verbal agreement took place sometime prior to March 11th, 1859; for on that date Dickens wrote his friend and adviser, John Forster, saying, " My American ambassador pays a Thousand Pounds for the first year, for the privilege of republication in America one day after we publish here. Not bad."*

Recently, Professor Richard D. Altick, Department of English, The Ohio State University, discovered in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the original Agreement controlling the publication of *All the Year Round* in America. The contracting parties were Charles Dickens and Thomas C. Evans, and the date of the instrument was March 17th, 1859. The main provisions were as follows: (1) Evans was given the sole privilege to publish *All the Year Round* in the United States for one year; (2) Dickens was to ship stereotype plates of each number to Evans in New York City two weeks before the date of publication in London; (3) Dickens bound himself to write a new continued story for the opening numbers of the journal; (4) the cost of the stereotype plates and the transportation was to be paid by Evans; and (5) Evans was to pay Dickens " One thousand pounds sterling. Five hundred pounds part thereof to be remitted within one calendar month after arrival of said Thomas C. Evans in the United States and five hundred pounds residue thereof seven calendar months after such arrival." The Agreement was witnessed by Wilkie Collins and William Henry Wills.†

William Henry Wills, Dickens's competent sub-editor and partner in both *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, kept an " Office Book " for both of those journals. That for *All the Year Round* is now preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library. It has never been published. The present writer has been able to read a considerable quantity of that book from film procured through the kindness of the authorities of the Huntington Library. It is now possible to piece together a fairly coherent story of the introduction of *All the Year Round* into America.

To begin with, it is passing strange that Dickens and Wills should have entered into an important agreement with such an unknown American adventurer as Thomas C. Evans when they had every reason to expect that established publishing houses or accredited magazine agencies would offer their services. In fact, within eight days of the signing, Dickens and Wills had to decline the proffered services of Frederic Chapman, of Chapman & Hall,‡ and of Sampson Low.§

Most of the details of Evans's relations to *All the Year Round* must be drawn from copies of Wills's letters. He arranged with John H. Greene & Son of Liverpool to receive and forward by steam packet to Evans, in care of the Adams Express Company,

* *Nonesuch, Letters*, III, 95.
† Altick, " Dickens and America, Some Unpublished Letters," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXIII, 331-334.
‡ *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 96.
§ A.Y.R. Office Book, Huntington Library: March 25th, 1859.

New York City, on every Saturday, one box containing a set of seventy-five stereotype plates to be insured for £25, the value of the copyright, and entered for duty at £4, the approximate cost of the plates.* These charges, amounting to £4 17s. 6d., and transportation across the Atlantic, were to be borne by Evans,† who had returned to New York between April 2nd, and April 15th.‡

In Wills's long and fairly legible letter of May 19th, 1859, one gets an idea of some of the difficulties under which the manager of *All the Year Round* and Evans were labouring. Wills acknowledged Evans's draft for £50, which momentarily settled accounts between them, and he called Evans's attention to the future, saying, "According to our agreement there will be receivable by us further from you before the 1st of November, £500 besides the expense of the stereotype plates &c." In the same letter Wills continues:

> I have endeavoured to comply with your wishes as to making another advance of a week in preparing your plates; but, we are obliged after mature planning and consideration, to give up the idea. We are already under great disadvantage in being forestalled in subjects; and, if we were to grasp a single additional hair of Time's forelock in making our numbers ready, he would leave us far too much behind him when we appear to the public.§

It is evident that Wills had already made one advance in the preparations of plates for Evans. When the latter made the request which Wills writes about here, he also proposed a "duplicate-plate-scheme" which Wills vetoed on the ground of expenses and lack of "time from month to month."‖

After May 19th, the tone of Wills's letters to Evans was friendly, slightly gossipy, and somewhat intimate. For instance, he says: "Dickens and the young ladies send their remembrances to you, charging me to convey them when I wrote. We shall all be glad to see [your appearance] in July. Mrs. Wills sends her best compliments." Therefore, it may be safely assumed that Evans did return to London in July; it was in early August that he was personally trying to persuade Bulwer-Lytton to write a story for his unnamed publisher; and on the 9th of that month Dickens wrote Bulwer-Lytton that he had learned that Evans had no capital, that he made his living by farming out his contracts, and that "He [Evans] has sold *All the Year Round* for six months in this manner but does not know that I know it."¶

* *Ibid.*, April 7th, April 9th, April 12th, 1859.
† *Ibid.*, April 21st, May 20th, 1859.
‡ *Ibid.*, April 15th.
§ *Ibid.*, May 19th, 1859.
‖ Near the end of this letter Wills writes a paragraph that takes on considerable interest in view of all that has been written about the circulation of Dickens-edited magazines. "Our success here exceeds the most sanguine expectations. One hundred and twenty thousand of No. 1 have already been sold. We are settling down to a steady current sale of one hundred thousand."
¶ *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 115.

(To be concluded)

THE LATE WILKIE COLLINS

By T. W. Hill

THIS study* of an almost unrivalled weaver of complicated plots comes from the pen of an American scholar, Mr. Robert Ashley, and forms a sort of culmination to the Collins renaissance in the United States during the last ten years or so. It follows closely upon Mr. Kenneth Robinson's Life which presented an acceptable living portrait of its subject. But, alas, for me, a careful reading of Mr. Ashley's book does not reveal a living picture; only an inquest on a cadaver from which Collins's soul has departed, with a full report of the investigations of the pathological analyst. What an Analytical Chemist Mr. Ashley would have been had he chosen that sphere of activity. His equipment is perfect, his instruments are scrupulously clean, his industry and zest for research are amazing, and his results are apparently irrefutable. He has discovered all the ingredients that, accumulating from Collins's earliest efforts at story-telling, were necessary for the productions of the masterpieces of his mature period in 1860 to 1870. As with all scientific research, it all seems so simple, so methodical, so mechanical, and it must be added so irrestible and inevitable. A chemist can analyse an egg and tell you the exact proportions correct to two places of decimals of every one of its elemental constituents, and add them up neatly together to make 100 parts. Then he can reconstitute an egg from these ingredients, but it might have to be "scrambled" unless he could also produce a perfect egg-shell; but would the reconstructed egg, if fertilised, hatch out into a live chick? In the same way if all the constituents of a Collins's masterpiece discovered by Mr. Ashley during his analyses, were mixed in the proper proportions I suppose that any one could write a novel as exciting, as fascinating and as well told, as *The Woman in White* or *The Moonstone*. Or could he?

Let us watch Mr. Ashley at work. He analyses *Antonina* (1850) Collins's first large-scale novel, and finds that although the ingredients are not particularly well mixed, he can recognise a forecast of Collins's future development; there are a workable plot, the creation of atmosphere, excellent descriptive power, contrasted characterisation, a fatality motif, a likeable villain or master criminal, a Jezebel woman, a "sinister" house, some matters usually avoided as improper by the convention of Victorian novelists, the art of suspense through expectation, and some physical deformity in the characters. (The last-named peculiarity had a morbid fascination for Collins.) Some, indeed many, of these ingredients occur in the slightest of Collins's short stories (Mr Ashley calls them novelettes) written for *Household Words*.

They appear again in the next long novel *Basil* (1852) in which Collins "found his forte, sensational melodrama," with the addition of a sensual woman, and the introduction of letters and other documents to add to the complexity of the main plot. In

* Wilkie Collins, by Robert Ashley. 141 pages. Arthur Barker, Limited. (English Novelist Series), 7s. 6d. net.

Hide and Seek (1854), written according to Mr. Ashley "in conscious imitation of Dickens," the hero is a deaf-mute, and there is an amateur detective who is cleverer than the police.

In 1856 Collins collected into one volume some of his short stories from *Household Words* of which Mr. Ashley considers *A Terribly Strange Bed* the most exciting short story Collins ever wrote, and he declares *A Stolen Letter* to be the first British detective story; he says "If Conan Doyle was the father of English detective fiction, then Collins was the grandfather."

Two years later the publication of a further selection of short stories (novelettes) from *Household Words* enables Mr. Ashley to make further discoveries, and it must be said that his analysis is very thorough. The development of the epistolary narrative method is advanced in *Anne Rodway*, and the utilisation of the complicated family conspiracy in *A Plot in Private Life*.

In 1856 Collins joined the permanent salaried staff of *Household Words* (see note further on) and the following year appeared *The Dead Secret* (1857) serially, in which the hero is blind. Mr. Ashley does not add much to his list of ingredients except that a genuine mystery is added to the other constituents.

In 1860 after about ten years of "journeyman" preparation Collins produced his first and greatest masterpiece *The Woman in White*. It appeared in *All The Year Round* that had replaced *Household Words*. This remarkable novel does not yield under Mr. Ashley's acute analysis any new ingredients, but the proportions in which they are mixed are much more perfect, greatly to the advantage of the story, and show real genius, even if only of the kind that consists in the infinite capacity for taking pains; the familiar types all reappear in skilful embodiments, and the plot with its inextricable complications is an entanglement of little knots and coincidences. Collins's skill in the unravelling, from admirably contrasted characters presenting different points of view of the same circumstances, and the gradual development to an exciting climax, ensure the rapt attention of the reader right up to the very end.

The height to which Collins had now attained was never exceeded, though it was fairly well maintained in *No Name* (1862), *Armadale* (1866), and *The Moonstone* (1868) but they did not add to Collins's stature as a novelist, and he continued to ring the changes on all the well-tried types and the familiar elements.

In 1870 Dickens died. Is it mere coincidence that, thereafter, although Collins lived for nearly twenty years he never produced another novel comparable to the masterpieces of 1860-1870? Some of the deterioration in his work was doubtless due to precarious health, but certain it is that his best work was finished. Mr. Ashley does not cease his precise analytical methods, but he confers upon Collins the honorific title of "Emeritus" and that definitely places him among the "Has-Beens." He writes: "In general, Collins's later novels repeat, sometimes with monotonous regularity and often with little of the old skill, the tried and true formulas of his earlier work. Much of the emeritus fiction is vitiated by a pre-occupation with the morbid and horrible and by a forced straining for effect."

Mr. Ashley, a scientific analyst, seems driven by logic to round off his book and to supplement his very thorough and well-documented autopsy with an ominously named " Post Mortem " section in which Collins, the superb exponent of the art of telling a story, the " master at creating atmosphere and at generating suspense," is practically damned: " He practised, it is true, one of the lower types of fiction, but in his best work he brought the type near to perfection." Surely the most unkindest cut of all, to put *The Woman in White* in the lower type of fiction and only " near " to perfection.

Before seeing Mr. Ashley's well-written book, I had contemplated a recapture of the old enjoyment of Collins's genius by reading again *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone*. But not now; it would be too painful. I should, all the time, find myself comparing Collins's methods with those of all the King's horses and all the King's men after Humpty Dumpty's catastrophe. For me, Collins the magician is dead. Stone-dead. As dead as Old Jacob Marley. Killed by analysis.

Farewell, dear Wilkie, my once admired Wizard. R.I.P.

* * * * *

Note on *Household Words*. The statement constantly repeated in Mr. Ashley's pages that Wilkie Collins became an " editor " of *Household Words* is likely to lead to some misunderstanding on this side of the Atlantic as he never was, in our English meaning of the word in Dickens's time, an editor. After a number of Collins's short stories had been printed in the magazine, Dickens had written to Wills: " Add him on to Morley and offer him Five Guineas a week," and thereafter Collins was often invited to join the consultations of Dickens, Wills and Morley to " knock out much new fire," and this must have been both very educational as well as a great privilege to so young a man, mixing with much older and more experienced journalists. But of actual " editorial " work there is no extant evidence. Throughout the available Dickens-Wills and the Dickens-Collins correspondence there is not one sign that Dickens and Wills ever let out of their own hands the planning of the successive numbers, the actual " make-up " of the contents, the acceptance or rejection of submitted contributions, or even the reading of the galley-proofs; and no record that Collins was ever entrusted with business or editorial negotiations with any contributors. Collins's own contributions also do not, for an " editor," seem very impressive. During the six months that his serial story *The Dead Secret* was running no other article was printed from his pen, and the same lack occurred when *A Poisoned Meal* and *The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices* appeared. All Collins's other contributions during three years of *Household Words* total twenty-seven, against sixty-two articles by Morley, and " general utility " men like Hepworth Dixon and Hollingshead had respectively forty-seven and forty-six to their credit. Even the collaboration with which Dickens honoured Collins in the planning and writing of two Christmas Supplements (*The Wreck of The Golden Mary* and *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners*) would only have occupied a little over a month in each of the two years.

DR. STRONG OF CANTERBURY

By K. R. Cramp, O.B.E., M.A.,
Past President, Royal Australian Historical Society

AN Australian lover of Charles Dickens, I recently visited the city of Canterbury and was amazed to find so much to capture the attention of the historical mind. Not only is it England's ecclesiastical capital, with its world-famed cathedral; its birthplace of English Christianity, St. Martin's Church where Ethelbert was baptised in 597 A.D., but it has its Roman relics, its link with Australia in its memorials to Sir George Gipps, a former Governor of New South Wales, and William Grant Broughton, Australia's first Bishop; the many reminders of the early English and of the weavers whom religious persecution drove from the Continent to Kentish shores. There is also so much to remind one of the leading characters in *David Copperfield*, Dickens's favourite literary child.

As I wandered about this historic city, I realised the force of John Forster's comment—"To be acquainted with English literature is to know that into its most famous fiction autobiography has entered largely in disguise, and that the characters most familiar to us in the English novels had originals in actual life." This statement seems to be emphatically true when applied to the lovable character, Dr. Strong.

To state my case I must resist the temptation to express my ecstasies over the several places of Dickensian interest in Canterbury—the House of Agnes, the site of the 'umble 'ome of Uriah Heep, the market place through which Betsey Trotwood and David passed when entering the city, the "little inn" with Micawber waiting for something to turn up, the "Fountain" pronounced by the French ambassador in the reign of Edward I as the best inn in Canterbury, which had the best inns in England which had the best inns in Europe, and the "*Fleur de Lis*" wherein, in my fancy, I occupied the room that Dickens once occupied. My real and immediate object in this article is to establish a connection between Dr. Strong and the King's School. For Australians have some interest in that historic educational centre since Governor Gipps, Bishop Broughton and the present Archbishop of Sydney, Most Rev. N. W. K. Mowell were all King's Scholars. Moreover the King's School, Parramatha (Sydney) owes its foundation to Gipps and Broughton.

I was escorted around the King's School, Canterbury by the Senior Monitor, a thoroughly competent guide. With Dr. Strong in mind, I enquired about the site of the Headmaster's residence in Dickens's days. I should have given notice of the question, as neither my guide nor the Masters to whom I was referred, could supply the answer on the spot. It was frankly admitted that I had presented a problem to which no thought had been given. Nevertheless with that typical English courtesy, which invariably makes such a pleasant impression on visiting Australians, one of the Masters posted to my London address a valuable volume on the school history which was duly returned to the sender, and

marked "not known at the address." But for the Master's persistence who made further enquiries as to my whereabouts and posted the volume again with the address unchanged, this article would not have been written and the theory it contained would not have been developed—at least not by the present writer.

Whether I am justified in concluding that the headmaster's house was situated a century ago near the north-west corner of Green Court (the school quadrangle) adjacent to the Norman Stairway, I leave to the judgement of others who are more familiar with the details than I am. It seems possible, however, that I have discovered, or, more accurately, excavated or re-discovered something of more absorbing interest to Dickensians and perhaps to citizens of Canterbury. Dr. Strong, the Dickens's Head of the school in *David Copperfield* is something more than a realistic fictional character. For, though not exactly a composite of the two Headmasters who reigned over the school between the years 1816 and 1859, and whose characters were, it is said, well known to Dickens, Dr. Strong closely resembled one of them, and the circumstances of his married state are strongly suggestive of the life of the other. The former, Rev. George Wallace, M.A., previously a lower master, became the Head (1833 to 1859) as the successor of the latter, Dr. John Birt, D.D., who was in charge from 1816 to 1832.

In support of this thesis, slight detail and character sketches of the three, Strong, Birt and Wallace—are submitted.

David Copperfield's portrayal of Dr. Strong was expressed in the following passage—"Dr. Strong's was an excellent school, as different from Mr. Creakle's, as good is from evil. It was very gravely and decorously ordered, and on a sound system; with an appeal in everything to the honour and good faith of the boys, and an avowed intention to rely on their possession of those qualities, unless they proved themselves unworthy of it, which worked wonders. We all felt that we had a part in the management of the school and in sustaining its character and dignity. Hence we soon became warmly attached to it—I am sure I did for one, and I never knew in all my time of any other boy being otherwise—and learnt it with a good will, desiring to do it credit. We had noble games out of hours and plenty of liberty, but even then, as I remember, we were well spoken of in the town, and rarely did any disgrace by our appearance or manner to the reputation of Dr. Strong, and Dr. Strong's boys."

We may now read references to Dr. Birt by a writer named Carlisle (*vide* Woodruff and Cape's History of the King's School, Canterbury, pp. 184-186). This authority states that Birt was chosen as Head on account of the high character given him by the Bishops of St. Asaph and Hereford and the Deans of Hereford and Gloucester. The school suffered because he was a better musician than a scholar, and, in his temperament, was easy going. "Under his mild rule, the discipline became so much relaxed, that the boys on one occasion broke out into open rebellion." The teaching was poor and would not stand the test of inspection. The report of 1829 showed it to be unsatisfactory because of "an evident want of a good foundation . . . We (*i.e.* the inspectors)

expressed our opinion of the disgraceful state of this part of the school."

This adverse report had the immediate effect of some improvement and the number of scholars increased. Nevertheless Dr. Birt had to resign in 1832. Why? Because of his wife, who, despite the fact that she had presented him with several children, and was herself clever and accomplished, was not adapted for the duties of a schoolmaster's wife, and eventually deserted him.

Was Dickens recalling this situation when he represented Annie (Mrs. Strong) as saying to the Doctor, her husband, " I used to fear that I was so unsuited to your learning and wisdom? " or yet again, " If circumstances had not happened otherwise, I might have come to persuade myself that I really loved him (*i.e.* Jack Maldon) and might have married him and been most wretched . . . There can be no disparity in marriage like unsuitability of mind and purpose." In the story of *David Copperfield* we do actually witness Dr. Strong thoroughly perturbed and unhappy by this revelation, while yet so self-obliterating. Was not Dr. Birt similarly perturbed and unhappy?

Dickens was cognisant of Dr. Birt's situation when he wrote his famous novel and he grafted Dr. Birt's domestic unhappiness on to the genial temperament of Mr. Wallace, Dr. Birt's successor. For my authority states that Wallace, though a man of strong character and great firmness yet aspired to rule by love rather than by fear, and on the whole was successful. Corporal punishment, though not unknown, was infrequent, and was inflicted only for serious offences against morals, or for flagrant breaches of discipline. He was credited with a keen sense of humour and a tendency to punning (I am glad of that because I do not subscribe to the doctrine that punning is necessarily the lowest form of wit).

If the view expressed in this article is acceptable to my readers, it should tend to make the re-reading of *David Copperfield* more significant by reason of the realisation that in Dr. Strong we are dealing with two Headmasters who actually lived and were in charge of King's School, Canterbury during the period of Dickens's active literary production. The link between the novel and the school is at least acknowledged in Canterbury itself, for in the brochure *The King's School, Canterbury*, it is thus expressed— " Probably the King's scholar of widest renown is one David Copperfield, for Dr. Strong's School, as Dickens describes it, could have been no other than the King's School."

CHARLES WHITEHEAD
HIS LIFE AND WORK

By John Crump

I

"MR. CHARLES WHITEHEAD, a very ingenious and a very unfortunate man." So says Forster in his biography of Dickens, and that statement sums up a very interesting life. It seems that Forster could write a biography equally well in a thousand pages, or a single sentence. Now who was this Charles Whitehead? The man in the street has never heard of him, students of general literature may have seen his name in some odd corner of a Victorian book, and most Dickensians know that he was a writer for Chapman & Hall, who might have written *Pickwick*. There is very little more generally realised about this talented and capable artist, who could have left a permanent mark upon English literature, had not the combination of his own peculiar nature (which contributed largely to his rather morbid skill) and trying circumstances, alike seemed to ally themselves against him. A valued friend at one time, of Bulwer Lytton, Douglas Jerrold, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Bentley, a man esteemed after his lifetime by such men as Rossetti and Hall Caine, he was destined to be buried in a pauper's grave in Melbourne!

Charles Whitehead was born in 1804, being the eldest son of a City wine merchant. He was the first born of a typical Victorian family, having three brothers and three sisters. To one of these brothers, he was tenderly attached, and was deeply shocked when he was drowned at the age of seventeen. The event made a lasting impression on Whitehead's mind, and is alluded to in his first published poem *The Solitary*. Whitehead is thought by some to have been educated at Christ's Hospital, where it will be remembered, Lamb and Coleridge received their early training, but his name is not on the registers.

He began business life as a clerk, and it may be thought that for his own sake, it is a pity that he did not follow Lamb's example and remain in a stable position. He first appears "in all the glory of print," in 1831, in which year was published his first good poem, *The Solitary*. It was published by Effingham Wilson who published at the same time Tennyson's first book of poems. *The Solitary*, one of his most carefully finished poetical pieces, is, as the title suggests, a melancholy work, such as most young poets of a delicate sensitivity usually produce in their first phase of inspiration. It was very favourably received, and the eminent critic, "Christopher North" said of it: "It is full of fine thoughts and feelings, and contains some noble descriptions." Rossetti was also an admirer of Whitehead's poetic style, which he said recalled Goldsmith. The admiration of such men surely indicates that his talent was of a high order, and to be compared with Goldsmith indicates that his verse must at least have been precisely and artistically wrought.

His next publication was of a very different sort, being that kind of work which had a great appeal to the general reader of the nineteenth century. It was entitled *The Lives and Exploits of English Highwaymen, Pirates and Robbers.* In the same year, 1834, Whitehead published anonymously a similar work, *The Autobiography of a Notorious Legal Functionary,* or, as is stated on the half title, *The Autobiography of Jack Ketch,* and it had fourteen illustrations by Kenny Meadows. The story tells the history of the hangman before he rose to that elevated office, and Mr. Ketch appears to be similar to, or even more villainous than, Mr. Dennis. It traces Mr. Ketch from his berth in the purlieus of Newgate, through a career of petty larceny and theft, until he succeeds to the position of his uncle—the hangman. He diverts himself by ill-treating a sweet young wife until her premature death, after a few years spent in his delectable company. The tale is told in a style similar to that of Dickens in his youth, a mixture of pathos and farce.

Works of this kind were very popular at that time. Anything that had crime as its leading motif was sure of a sale. Even the leading writers (of whom he was one, let it not be forgotten), wrote such novels. Harrison Ainsworth gave *Jack Sheppard,* Bulwer Lytton wrote *Eugene Aram,* Douglas Jerrold produced *St. Giles & St. James,* and Dickens himself wrote one, admittedly the most meritorious both in point of art and morals, but still one of this group—*Oliver Twist.* Even Thackeray, while condemning these and similar works in his *Catherine,* wrote a similar type of novel himself—*The Luck of Barry Lyndon.*

Jack Ketch contained a separate tale, after the manner of Dickens in *Pickwick,* and *Nicholas Nickleby.* (Could it be possible that Dickens imitated Whitehead in this matter?) It was called *The Confession of James Wilson,* and was in the vein of Poe, and by far the best piece of writing in the book. Whitehead's character and literary style was in some things like that of Poe. He possessed a similar nervous melancholy disposition, the same proud resentment of assistance, however kindly offered, and, unfortunately for himself, that disposition towards alcoholism which proved his ruin. The whole work contained passages of the greatest pathos, and was evidently the production of a skilled master of his art.

The success of his book induced Whitehead to devote his time and talents entirely to the literary profession, and in 1835 he became Editor of *The Library of Fiction,* a new venture by two young publishers, Messrs. Chapman & Hall. It was at this time that that rising young writer Boz, still a reporter in the House, was writing his interesting *Sketches* in various periodicals, and Whitehead had possibly met him, when they both contributed to the *Monthly Magazine.* According to Hall Caine there once existed a tradition that Whitehead and Dickens used to traverse London slums together, in search of character and incident. He gives us a picture of them following a coalheaver with his child in his arms—" Dickens had bought some cherries, and fed them to the child, one by one, with obvious enjoyment of the little one's pleasure. This was before fortune and fame alike became a canker to his sunny and child-like spirit. It was before the

opposite of these conspired with his own excesses of personal habit to sour Whitehead's life."

It was probably just before this that Whitehead contracted the habit of intemperate drinking which was really the whole cause of the waste and dissipation of the great gifts of narrative and poetic imagery that he certainly possessed. As he began to associate with the somewhat mixed company of contemporary writers, he discovered that he had the pleasant social asset of charming conversation, and the ability to hold the attention of an audience. But the extensive practice of such a facile wit saps the nervous vitality of a delicately balanced intellect, as many clever men have discovered to their cost. After a time he resorted to the bottle. His work suffered and deteriorated, and he gradually sank in his social standing and in his grip upon his talents. His was similar to the case so ably described by Lamb in the *Confessions of a Drunkard*. But, as Dr. Marigold says- " let me not anticipate," no sign of this was yet apparent.

In 1836, he invited Dickens to contribute two sketches to *The Library of Fiction* (hence his appearance in Forster's *Life*). They were duly written, and were " The Tuggs at Ramsgate," surely one of the best of the *Sketches*, and " A Little Talk about Spring and Sweeps." Soon after this Whitehead's great chance occurred when Chapman & Hall invited him to supply the letterpress to accompany a series of engravings by Seymour, the famous Cockney sporting artist, who enjoyed as great a popularity as Cruikshank at that time. But the weakness of will of the drunkard interposed itself between Whitehead and his splendid opening. He declined the task, on the ground that he could not produce copy with sufficient regularity. Although he did not give the reason, it is apparent that he knew of his liability to an attack of alcoholism, and resultant incapacity for weeks at a time. As he had been very satisfied with the young Dickens's sketches, he good-humouredly recommended him for the work, and so *Pickwick* was born. It is no exaggeration to say that Dickens never forgot this kind action of recommendation, and endeavoured to help Whitehead in his later times of distress—as will be shown later.

During the period that Dickens was writing *Pickwick*, Whitehead was producing poems and sketches for *Bentley's Miscellany*, to which he contributed for many years. When Dickens became Editor of the *Miscellany* in 1837 he engaged Whitehead as a regular writer, and remained his personal friend for some time.

Whitehead was now approaching his literary maturity, although he was also in the grip of chronic alcoholism. On the 15th September, 1836, his first dramatic piece had been produced at the Haymarket with Miss Ellen Tree and Vandenhoff in the leading rôles. Such promising accompaniments for a first play certainly bespeak a writer of acknowledged prowess. The play, which was in blank verse, was entitled " The Cavalier," and the plot, a very moving if somewhat gloomy one.

At about this time, 1840-50, Whitehead frequented the " Grotto " in Holborn, and was there on equal terms with Bulwer Lytton, Thackeray and Douglas Jerrold. He is described as

being "a man of singularly nervous temperament, and indications were not wanting that he was already a victim of the infirmity of his later years." He was at the Grotto practically every night and was the leading spirit of the place. Credible witnesses affirm that in play of fancy and sparkle of " bon mot " he could rival Douglas Jerrold at his most brilliant. He had a beloved family and had inherited a considerable patrimony, he was on an equal footing with the leaders of his chosen profession, most of whom accorded his skill great applause. But, even at this time, as he approached the height of his fame and powers, a few of his closer friends (including Dickens) began to fall away from him. They saw that he could not, or would not master his terrible and blighting habit, which from now on assumed a greater and greater hold upon his life, until it finally caused its complete desolation and wreck.

II

Whitehead now entered upon his greatest work, entitled *Richard Savage, a Romance.* It appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1841-2, in the same form as *Oliver Twist,* and was published in volume form in 1842, with the illustrations by John Leech, then also at the height of his powers. It was dedicated to Mr. Elton, the gentleman to whose family Dickens was so kind, after his death by drowning. The story of Savage must have been both dear and disturbing to the heart of Whitehead, to whom he bore a marked resemblance. Both knew that they possessed some genius, and both led a gloomy, neglected and dissipated life. The powerful and sombre narrative was written in autobiographical form.

The narrative tells of his miserable life closely following that of Dr. Johnson's biography. The book was wonderfully conceived and sustained, the characters being drawn fully and convincingly. We have an authentic account of Savage, constantly failing in spite of his better self, and slowly sinking into the morass of his own indifference and his mother's machinations.

The novel passed through three editions and was published in Bentley's Standard Novels series. It was republished in 1890. It appealed strongly to Dickens, for Miss Hogarth once wrote that " I have often heard Charles Dickens speak with great admiration of Charles Whitehead's novel *Richard Savage.*"

Whitehead was an intimate of Bentley, his publisher, and since no painting of Whitehead exists, the following word portrait by Bentley's son is of great interest.

" We had a fashion in Burlington Street, in those days of candles which required snuffing, of sitting round the fire at 7 o'clock, and Father Prout, or Charles Whitehead, or Hamilton Maxwell, or Albert Smith would take a bowl of tea with us—big cups. The talk was then very good, and I, a youngster, greatly enjoyed it. I remember even then thinking, how intimately Charles Whitehead seemed to know all of the men of the time of Sir Richard Steele. Whitehead was a refined, scholarly, man, with a shy, retiring way of his own, with thoughtful, almost

penetrating eyes, good and white brow, standing about 5 ft. 10½ ins. I should say, slightly and rather elegantly built, stooping somewhat from the shoulder, otherwise straight set up. He frequently, while talking, had his right elbow resting in the palm of his left hand. I quite associate him with that attitude. He was always in black, and looked, as did John Leech, a perfect gentleman. He spoke carefully, not abusing words, and was, it appeared to me, moderate in statement, and not excitable, or, at least, not easily excited."

Whitehead's next work rapidly followed *Richard Savage*, in 1843. It was an historical romance entitled "The Earl of Essex," and was published by Bentley, 12mo in three volumes. It is similar in scope to Harrison Ainsworth's novels, and is at least equal throughout to his best writings. It dealt mainly with Essex's career after the rebellion of Tyrone. It received favourable reviews and was a very popular success.

Now, Whitehead was at the height of his popularity and powers, and could have been borne forward on the title of his widespread successes to an eminent position in the world of letters. But, at this point in his career he seemed to succumb absolutely to his fatal propensity for drink, for after 1843 he did scarcely anything but hack-work, and a little good poetry. From now on he was literally a slave to alcohol and a poor drudge to the booksellers, with an occasional flash of the old brilliance. It is of ironical interest to note that one of his pieces of hack-work was the revision and extension of the annotations to Dickens's *Memoirs of Grimaldi*, in 1846. This work was probably obtained through the good offices of Dickens himself.

In 1847 Bentley published his *Smiles and Tears, or the Romance of Life* which was not an original work, which now seemed beyond Whitehead's grasp, but a reprint in three volumes of Whitehead's best articles and sketches. The publication of such a work, four years after his latest novel says much in itself for Whitehead's popularity. Much of this material bears a master's touch in both pathos and humour, and is quite Dickensian in style.

Ever since the publication of *The Solitary* in 1831, sundry other poems of his had been appearing. In 1849, Bentley published most of his poems in one volume 12mo—and then there is a blank of five years, during which we know nothing of his life.

Then in 1854 came his final sustained effort *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, with Copious Notes from His "History of the World."* It appeared in Cooke's *Illustrated Library*. This was a serious historical work, and was a long, reliable and carefully written account of Raleigh's life and work. After it appeared, Whitehead relapsed into free-lance journalism. This career, in the last century, must have been a miserable one for one of his nature and infirmities. He is described at this time, 1855, as:

"Very dilatory in his habits of work, owing doubtless in a great measure to his sad failing. He was for a long while in very mediocre apartments on the first floor of a house in Great Ormond Street. He lived here even when *Richard Savage* was passing through the press. His study was a little parlour on the ground

floor, with no better prospect than the gutter below. He made but few alterations in his MSS, unless he took the trouble to re-copy the whole passage. He possessed an extraordinary fund of humour, and would amuse his friends with felicitous sallies of wit. Owing to his one pernicious habit, the influence of which he could never throw off, his natural vivacity deserted him as years went on, and he became moody and morose, and sometimes, when not sober, even quarrelsome. He was tall, and of a dark complexion, with a hollow chest and stooping gait, giving the appearance of great fragility. He had a long careworn face. His manner was modest and diffident, indeed except to his intimate friends he appeared almost *too* shy and sensitive."

He formed the project of going to New Zealand in 1855. He notified Dickens of the fact, and a proof of the latter's readiness to help the needy is given by the following extract from a letter of Dickens to Wills the sub-editor of *Household Words*. The letter is dated Sunday, 30th December, 1855.

> "If an article comes to the office from Charles Whitehead, will you immediately read it and—unless it be out of the question: which I hope it won't be—immediately get it cast off, and immediately pay for it: with a turn of the scale in his favour? He is going to New Zealand."

Nemesis, a tale by Whitehead, appeared in *Household Words*, April 19th, 26th, 1856.

Whitehead vacillated as usual, and left England (with what a dispirited and despondent heart on looking to the past, and with what careless thoughts of the future, we can only surmise), not for New Zealand, but Australia, in 1857. He had secured a position with the *Melbourne Argus*, and possibly hoped to regain his health, which was now ruined, and to establish a position in the new country, which had so long been denied him by the old. Once in Australia he plunged into a veritable pit of misfortune. He soon lost his job through drunkenness, and his wife died. Although not a cultured woman, he had loved her dearly, and she had been the last link with a once happy and promising past, and the only restraining influence left in his life.

From now on, we catch sight of Whitehead's figure moving, as it were, in a mist of haplessness, despair, and neglect. There was still to come one last flash from the dying embers of Whitehead's talent, however. In July, 1859, he published *The Spanish Marriage* in the *Victorian Monthly*. It was stated to be a drama in three parts, but one only appeared, possibly because of the premature failure of the monthly. The work was in blank verse, and it is terrible to think of Whitehead's gifts, even when crushed, neglected and wasted away, still being capable of such work.

For the remaining three years of his life (1859-62) Whitehead led the life of a wanderer, living in straitened circumstances, and writing for any newspaper that would pay for his copy. In the early part of 1862, he applied for admission to the Immigrants' Benevolent Asylum, but was evidently not admitted, since shortly after he is known to have been befriended by a literary medico. This gentleman was kind enough to take Whitehead into his own home, and minister to his needs; proof of his own generosity, and

possibly of Whitehead's yet charming personality. It thus seems possible that Whitehead could, even now, have secured a comfortable haven with congenial companionship, from whence he might have yet produced another masterpiece. But his restless spirit moved him actually to leave his kind benefactor, and wander off, although suffering from chronic bronchitis, without leaving a hint as to his intentions! The sequel is shortly recounted, and bears a marked resemblance to the death of Poe. After a few weeks, his friend, still making enquiries concerning him, learnt that a man had been found in the streets in a state of extreme exhaustion. He had been taken to Melbourne Hospital, and shortly afterwards had died and been buried in a pauper's grave, without a single mourner to follow his remains. On enquiry at the hospital he discovered the certificate of the death, on the 5th July, 1862, of "Charles Whitehead, aged 58 years. Profession—engaged on the newspapers."

Perhaps we may best sum up and judge poor Whitehead's unhappy and wasted life in his own words, from (aptly enough), *The Solitary*:

"Judge him not harshly; he is sunk too low
For thee to exhalt thy worthier self upon;
The happiness he sought thou canst not know,
The misery he found thou hast not known:
The need of glory was not his alone:
Bare is the summit of Parnassus' station,
And cold the fountain pure of Helicon,
Thou hast not felt the great, the mad temptation,
The hell—the heaven—the paradise—the deep damnation!"

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF *PICKWICK*

I ALWAYS try to keep abreast of all movements—or should I say "Movements"?—but it is only very recently that I have become bold enough to send you the researches of my friend, Mr. Attaboy P. Hoosh, of Carshville University, Ga., into the subject of the psychology of Pickwick. But as so much nonense has been talked on the psychology and psychiatry of Dickens himself during the past few years, by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy, Mr. Jack Lindsay, and Mr. Julian Symons, among others equally well qualified to do so, I feel that Mr. Hoosh's researches and their striking results should no longer be withheld from popular admiration—or detestation.

He was good enough to send me, shortly before the last war, what he called "Psychopathetic Notes on the Pickwickian Phantasmata," containing, as he claims, reasons for the continued and otherwise inexplicable success of the *Pickwick Papers* whether in book form, on the stage, or in the minds of its readers. I am at a loss to conjecture what he means by this latter statement; but then I am also at a loss to understand the psychomotive terms indulged in by some of his contemporaries. So I am glad to accede to his request to give his "Psychopathetic Notes" that wider circulation which he—quite unaccountably, in my opinion—appears to consider they deserve. Here they are, then.

The Psychopathetical Pickwick Phantasmata

(Notes on some of the outstanding characters in this work, with special reference to their psychological characteristics.)

The Fat Boy. A death-dream character, with a Morphean-vitaministic-semi-sadistic complex, illustrated by extreme langour, a strong food-wish, and no inhibition about making people's flesh creep, or even sticking sharp implements into people's legs.

Mr. Winkle. An egomaniac, with manic-depressive tendencies, probably a self-projection of the author. Claustrophobic tendencies, evinced by a horror of closed-in spaces, e.g. sedan chairs. Complicated by Equopatinaphobia.

Mr. Bob Sawyer. A paranoic type, so inhibited that he is unable to control a display of agoraphobia (dislike of crowds) by his landlady. Has strong Antifelispedalian leanings. (Note by the Editor: This term possibly refers to a certain Mr. Johnson, a teetotaller, who had busied himself in Britain, where he was known as "Pussyfoot," some years before these notes were written.)

Mr. Weller Sen. Highly developed Sacerdowiddophobia observable throughout his reaction to his wife and to the Rev. Stiggins, culminating in a display of Absolute Power in connection with a horsetrough that would have pleased Lord Acton himself.

The Old Lady (Mr. Wardle's Mother). A strong 1666 complex, evincing a horror of Great Fires—or even fire grates. High imaginative perversity.

Mr. Pickwick. Probably another projection of the author, as shown by his adventures in a girls' school, with Mrs. Bardell, and with the peace and happiness of confiding females generally. At times a little undue Punchophilis, leading to a Nonante-matutinal complex, resolving itself in song of a primitive type.

There are various other "character-sketches" to which I hope I may be allowed to return at some later date. But, in all fairness, I must say that Mr. Hoosh is already a trifle anxious about the effect of his theories on what he calls The Dickens-Dedicated. I have assured him that he has no need to be; but have not told him my reasons for this assurance. He might misunderstand them!

J. D. A.

ENTER *DOMBEY & SON*

By Malcolm Morley

THE first play founded on *Dombey and Son* was given at the Strand Theatre on August 2nd, 1847. The monthly numbers of the novel had begun to appear in October the previous year and continued until April, 1848. Only half of the story had been serialised when the play appeared. The sub-title of "Good Mrs. Brown the Child Stealer" gave an indication of the matter taken from the novel to manufacture this two-act drama. T. P. Taylor responsible for the work, had perforce to invent his own conclusion to the then unfinished tale by Dickens. The central incident was the death of little Paul who died in his bed and not, as in another version mentioned by T. Edgar Pemberton, by falling from the roof in an attempt to escape the solicitude of Mrs. Brown.

The cast at the Strand was not particularly distinguished, nor did the play remain in the bill for long. This little playhouse, at long last a legally recognised establishment, had passed the managerial hey-day of Hammond, the best of the early Sam Wellers, and was now under the short-lived command of F. Fox Cooper, himself the author of indifferent adaptations from Boz. Mr. Dombey was played by C. Williams, Major Bagstock by Huntley, Captain Cuttle by Rogerson, Edith by Marian Atkins and Mrs. Brown, the good Mrs. Brown, by a strong male actor, Harwood Cooper. The dramatist, Thomas Prochis Taylor, has frequently been confused with Tom Taylor of considerably greater repute. The first Taylor was a very minor playwright in the field of melodrama who, ten years before, had supplied Sadlers Wells with *Boz's Pickwick*, one of the many early stage attacks upon the Posthumous Papers. The second Taylor began his career as a dramatist at a somewhat later date and, in his day, ranked very high in the Theatre. He was the author of the verse drama *The Fool's Revenge*, played by Edwin Booth, also part author, with Charles Reade, of the very successful comedy *Masks and Faces*. No, the two Toms were entirely different dramatists.

The next stage version of *Dombey and Son* appears to be that of W. Sydney on June 4th, 1849, at the Marylebone, an establishment outside the West End orbit but which occasionally came to the fore, when some ambitious manager aspired to compete with the more central theatres. For the most part its doings were veiled in local obscurity. Included in the *dramatis personae* were H. Lee as Dombey, G. Cooke as Cuttle, James Johnstone as Carker and Fanny Vining (Mrs. E. L. Davenport) as Edith. The fact that the piece introduced three visions of Christmas, the final one being a glimpse of Dombey in the future, hints that it might have been first produced somewhere during that period of the year, five or six months before the Marylebone showing. Where? There would seem to be no record of such a performance at any of the metropolitan playhouses. The final scene in Sidney's drama takes place in Dijon where Edith has eloped with Carker. Possibly the novel may not have run its course when the dramatisation was made. *Dombey and Son* played for some thirty

performances at the Marylebone then under the banner of Walter Watts, a clerk in the Globe Insurance Office, who embezzled funds to the amount of £80,000 in order to indulge his hobby of running theatres, and who committed suicide in his prison cell after being tried and sentenced to transportation. The case was one of the sensational events of its time.

W. E. Burton as Captain Cuttle

by courtesy of the Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum

During the two decades following the Marylebone production no new adaptation of the novel is traceable in London. On this side of the Atlantic the story cannot be said to have been popular on the stage, but in America it was different. There *Dombey and Son* had considerable vogue as a play, and the character of Captain Cuttle was irresistible to a succession of fine comedians. W. E. Burton, John Brougham, Dan Setchell, Mark Smith and W. J. Florence, famous figures of the past, all scored as the kind hearted old mariner.

The earliest version to be given in New York was that of John Brougham, an Irish actor-playwright whose stage career began in England and continued in America. It was the first of his several Dickens adaptations and opened at Burton's Theatre on July 24th, 1848. The manager, William Evans Burton, had commissioned the work from Brougham—at that time a member of his company in the theatre. Both

acted in the piece; Burton played Cuttle and Brougham doubled the parts of Major Bagstock and Jack Bunsby. Verrey was Mr. Dombey, and Oliver Raymond the blushing young Toots. Hastily prepared, *Dombey and Son* proved a failure and was taken off after the fourth night. Something was drastically wrong, either with the play, the players, or both. Burton had studied his part carelessly and barely knew the lines. Relying too much on his own spontaneous brand of humour, he found that it deserted him in performance. His characterisation had little, if any, of the Dickens original. Brougham was deemed dull in both the parts he played, while Raymond, a comparatively obscure actor, scored the only hit in this poorly constructed play. But Burton believed in the stage possibilities of the novel, and was set upon playing Captain Cuttle. He resolved to try again and ordered that the play be patched and repaired. With full observance of the manager's many suggestions, Brougham again took the script in hand and completely revised the dramatisation. Incidents and happenings were rearranged; the script was amplified here and reduced there. Virtually a new play of *Dombey and Son* appeared at Burton's some three weeks later, on August 16th. The cast had been reshuffled and among the changes made were John Nickenson to the rôle of Dombey and George Jordan to that of Carker. Marshall, who had previously played Carker, was now cast for Sol Gills, Burton's indifferent performance in the first showing gave way to a conception more faithfully studied and with the effects better rehearsed. The production proved an immediate success, Burton triumphed as the Captain, a rôle to be long associated with his name. Season after season he played the part, not only in New York but in most cities of the United States where later he fulfilled star engagements. Though at first the comedian had missed the character, he had now elaborated his performance to something near perfection, one replete with humour and tenderness. His fat face was described as a huge map on which was written every emotion that he felt, there was no mistaking the meaning of each expression.

Dombey and Son won so much approval that Brougham was inspired to attack the novel again. This next time he made use of episodes that had not figured in his former adaptations and the result, called *The Capture of Captain Cuttle, and Bunsby's Wedding*, was brought out at Burton's on September 7th, 1848. It was in one act only and, though Burton repeated Cuttle, the play merely provided him with a curtailed study compared with the rich impersonation he had given in the fuller drama. Nickenson, the Dombey of before, was now Bunsby, a heavy-weight Bunsby.

To the Park Theatre in New York came a rival *Dombey and Son* on November 13th, 1848. Adapted by Charles Walcot the play offered small competition to the version at Burton's even though it was apparently well cast with Walcot, himself, as Toots; John Gilbert as Dombey, G. H. Barrett as Bagstock, Mrs. Shaw as Edith, Mary Taylor as Susan Nipper and Henry Placide as the Captain. A group of first-class players. Two weeks later, to be exact on November 29th, there was staged at Mitchell's Olympic a short piece named *The Nipper; or, One of*

the House(hold) of Dombey which was no more than pickings from the novel. The *Household* in the sub-title is a curiously prophetic reference to the publication that Dickens launched later. John Nickenson, who had left Burton and joined Mitchell's company, appeared as Cuttle, this making the third character from the story played by him. He did not approach Burton in the part lacking, as he did, the easy kindly manner of that comedian. Afterwards Nickenson went to Toronto where he established himself in management, a pioneer of the theatre in Toronto.

Of the early "Dombey" dramatisations on both sides of the Atlantic, Brougham's amended version was the only one to survive any length of time. The play served not only Burton but other prominent comedians attracted to the rôle of the quotation-loving Captain. After Burton had retired Brougham took to the part and used it as a vehicle in which to star, for a number of years in and out of New York. When, in October, 1860, his adaptation was revived at the Winter Garden in that city, it was W. J. Florence who played Cuttle, with Mrs. W. J. Florence as Susan Nipper. Husband and wife played the same characters throughout the United States and Canada. They were touring stars and visited many countries. On a visit to England the two were seen in *Dombey and Son* at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, on October 28th, 1861. A young actor, Henry Irving, was among those in the stock company supporting the stars. His rôle was Mr. Dombey and the press notices were encouraging. During those prentice days in the provinces, Irving was cast for other Dickens characters: —Mantolini, Nicholas Nickleby, Monks, Tackleton and Sparkler (*Little Dorrit*). Later, in London, he was to portray Bill Sikes, John Perrybingle and, most memorable of all the pictures in his Dickens gallery, the jaunty Jingle. Under the title of *Captain Cuttle* the Brougham play was given in London, at the Gaiety Theatre, on November 20th, 1880, for the first of two morning performances, as matinees were then called. The still starring W. J. Florence appeared as Cuttle and F. W. Wyndham (no relation to the famous Charles of that name) as Carker. Dombey was played by Charles Fawcett, Toots by J. L. Shine, Edith by Myra Holme (Mrs. A. W. Pinero) and Susan Nipper by an actress named as Miss Amalia.

Meanwhile another dramatisation of the Dickens novel had been produced in the West End:—*Heart's Delight*, by Andrew Halliday, at the Globe on December 17th, 1873. The drama was well constructed and reproduced the atmosphere of the story more than the previous versions had done. It began and ended in the "Wooden Midshipman"—the intermediate action ranging from the Library at Mr. Dombey's to the Inn at Dijon. Little Paul had no place in the plot. The Captain Cuttle at the Globe was Samuel Emery, an excellent character actor, the father of Winifred Emery who married Cyril Maude. Carker was played by James Fernandez, and Edith by the handsome Helen Barry. The parts of Toots and Walter Gay were doubled by the manager, H. J. Montague. Another double was that of Dombey with Bunsby, although it was not the original intention that these characters should be played by the same actor. Halliday's choice

for Bunsby was James Beer Johnstone, a player who was a Pantaloon of note in Christmas Pantomimes. He was author of the once popular melodrama *Jack Long of Texas* as well as being an adapter of Dickens, providing versions of *The Seven Poor Travellers, The Holly Tree Inn* and *Oliver Twist* for the Minor Theatres. The veteran actor rehearsed Bunsby and was duly announced for the part. But it was too much for him; he could not cope with the task. Learning lines and rehearsing them under conditions that were unfamiliar to him did not permit the text to come easily to the distracted actor. The new school was replacing the old, and Johnstone was decidedly old school. He was unable to continue and at the last moment, dropped out. It was one of those small tragedies common in the theatre. However, the discarded player continued to play small parts around and about London almost to the end. He died in 1891 at the age of 88. Luckily for the production of *Heart's Delight*, J. C. Cowper playing Dombey was able, with the slightest rearrangement of the script, to replace Johnstone and double Bunsby with his own part. Perhaps the doubling of parts told against the performance at the Globe, nevertheless it ran for three months and was revived there five years later.

During a Dickens season at the Crystal Palace the Halliday adaptation was given on November 11th, 1882, with the doubles made into singles:—Dombey by Stewart Dawson, Bunsby by Arthur Wood, Walter Gay by H. Reeves Smith and Toots by the droll comedian, Arthur Williams. The Cuttle was E. D. Lyons.

Before that time *Heart's Delight* had travelled to Boston, Massachusetts, where it was seen at another Globe Theatre in 1874. The play, though given out of New York, does not appear to have been performed in that city, the biggest theatrical centre in the United States. Continuing the American record, the last *Dombey and Son* dramatisation of any importance was the work of E. E. Rose staged at the Boston Museum in January, 1892.

To return to London and continue the list of productions there, the next *Dombey and Son* was an adaptation by Metcalfe Wood at the Savoy Theatre on July 15th, 1911, where it ran for thirty performances. Thirty-six characters were in the cast though it cannot be said their presence made up for the loss from their number of the gallant Captain Cuttle. He had no part in the play. Among those present were Clifton Alderson as Dombey, Evelyn Millard as Edith, Louis Calvert as Bagstock and O. B. Clarence as Lord Feenix.

During intervening years, the suburbs and provinces saw various plays taken from the novel. Some concentrated on the death of Paul Dombey and others on the sayings and doings of the Captain. Pathos was piled upon pathos in *Little Paul* by Walter Stevens at the Lyceum, Rochester, March 6th, 1871. And it might be said that pathos was turned into bathos in *The Passing of Paul Dombey*, an episode in three scenes by Claude Trevelyan at the Borough Theatre, Stratford, April 22nd, 1909.

The enterprising Dickens Fellowship Dramatic Society staged a new adaptation on November 3rd, 1906, at the Cripplegate

Institute. This was *The House of Dombey* by Mrs. W. Teignmouth Shaw (Priscilla Craven) and Walter Dexter. The stalwarts of the Society were to the fore and a highly commended performance was the Susan Nipper of Kathleen Marriott.

The colourful Captain in the person of Charles Cartwright figured largely in an anonymous version of *Dombey and Son* at the Theatre Royal, Bradford, on October 24th, 1907. In the piece were Charles Collette as Major Bagstock and A. B. Tapping as Toots. A more recent drama of the same title was by Ian MacIntosh at the King's Theatre. Hammersmith, on May 7th, 1945, when Dombey was played by Ernest Milton, Edith by Cecily Byrne, Bagstock by Hamilton Deane, Mrs. Pipchin by Dora Mary Patrick, Miss Tox by Jane Griffiths, and Carker by Michael Martin-Harvey. Other *Dombey and Son* dramatisations may be mentioned; one by Mrs. N. Hewitt in September, 1933, at Rochester and another by Rosa de Leon on October 7th, 1946, at the Twentieth Century Theatre, a small playhouse in the Bayswater district of London. This version was notable for the Captain Cuttle of Frederick Ross. A published dramatisation bearing the name of the novel is that of J. Cooper Sands and an adaptation, yet to be produced, has been made by Bransby Williams whose gallery of Dickensian portraits is the most extensive of any living actor. The title is again *Heart's Delight.*

ERRATA

In his radio broadcast quoted in our last number Mr. Humphry House, on the basis of a newspaper note, attributed to Professor Edgar Johnson the calculation " that there are 3,500 extant letters of Dickens unpublished." Mr. House had no reason for distrusting his source, but actually Professor Johnson's statement which had been inaccurately reported, was that he had read in manuscript 3,500 Dickens documents—contracts, memoranda, and letters about, to, and from Dickens—of which by far the largest number consisted of unpublished letters of Dickens. He made no estimate of how many more unpublished Dickens letters there might be.

It is regretted that in " Journalistics," published in our number for March, mention was inadvertently omitted of Dickens's fifth contribution to *The Morning Chronicle*, " The Story Without a Beginning," discovered by Mr. W. J. Carlton. See *The Dickensian*, 1951, p. 67.

EDITOR.

NOTES ON *HARD TIMES*

By T. W. Hill

Introductory

Of all Dickens's greater novels this is the shortest. It contains about 117,400 words, less than half the number in those books that were issued in monthly instalments. *Hard Times* was written as a serial in *Household Words* from April 1st to August 12th, 1854, and Dickens found the limitations of weekly instalments a great handicap; "The difficulty of the space," he wrote, "is CRUSHING. Nobody can have an idea of it who has not had an experience of patient fiction-writing with some elbow-room always, and open places in perspective. In this form, with any kind of regard to the current number, there is absolutely no such thing." And again later: "I am in a dreary state, planning and planning the story of *Hard Times* out of materials for I don't know how long a story."

Hard Times was his first essay at a genuine weekly serial (omitting *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge* in the weekly *Master Humphrey's Clock* on 1840-41); later came *A Tale of Two Cities* (146,450 words) in *All the Year Round* in 1859 and *Great Expectations* (189,000 words) in 1861, and both of these stories shew that he had partly overcome the difficulty of cramped space; even these are not half the length of his eight great novels published in monthly parts, such as *Pickwick Papers*, *Dombey and Son* and the rest, the average content of which is 357,000 words. It may be interesting to add that *The Old Curiosity Shop* has 227,500, and *Barnaby Rudge* 263,650 words, and that *Oliver Twist* (a monthly serial in "Bentley's Miscellany," 1837-8) contains only 173,400 words.*

John Ruskin esteemed *Hard Times* greatly (see "Unto This Last"), but Forster had not a very high opinion of the merits of the book, and this may be the reason that there is a tendency to neglect it. Such neglect is quite undeserved as the novel contains some of Dickens's best writing; the stage is not overcrowded, the story is very closely woven, the plot is easy to follow, and at least three or four of the characters, Bounderby, Rachael, Blackpool and Mrs. Sparsit, are worthy to be placed in the company of Micawber, Mrs. Gamp, Sam Weller and all that glorious assemblage.

With the social problems propounded in the novel, but not expounded, the following Notes do not deal; such matters are for reading circles and essayists. These Notes are, as usual, with those on the other books, mainly exegetical.

NOTES

Book I

Chapter 2

1. FISTIC PHRASEOLOGY. Dickens's familiarity with the terminology, current at the time of the story, of the Prize Ring

* The figures quoted are taken from the printer's complete "cast-off" for the Nonesuch Edition. For purposes of comparison it may be stated that the New Testament contains 181,253 words.

shewn here may be also noted in the *Mystery of Edwin Drood*, Chapter xvii describing Canon Crisparkle's visit to the Haven of Philanthropy. It may be recalled that Dickens offered to get a ticket (at £3 3*s*. 0*d*.) for Professor Layard to see what proved to be the last of the Great Prize Fights; that between Sayers and Heenan on April 17th, 1860.

2. SCHEDULE B. When *Hard Times* was written there was no Board, or Ministry of Education. This department was administered by the Committee of Council (Privy Council) on Education and Schedule B, instituted in 1846, contained the Syllabus of Qualifications of Pupil Teachers during each year of training. It included all the subjects enumerated by Dickens. One rather misses the " use of the globes " dear to the heart of Mr. Squeers and also of Doctor Blimber.

3. MORGIANA. Ali Baba's slave in the Arabian Nights, " crafty, cunning and fruitful in inventions." She poured boiling oil into the jars of the oil-merchant and so killed thirty-seven of the thieves concealed therein; she afterwards murdered the oil-merchant himself. The analogy is complete.

CHAPTER 3

1. GREAT BEAR, CHARLES'S WAIN. No one knows who named the Stellar Constellations, but this conspicuous group has been called the Bear since Greek times, and it bore the same name to the Phoenicians and the Ancient Persians, and even the Iriquois Indians knew it as the Bear. It gets its other name of Charles's Wain (wagon) from Charlemagne. To Americans it is the Dipper from its resemblance to a saucepan outlined by its seven principal stars and the Chinese call it the Corn Measure.

2. COKETOWN. A fictitious name, of course. All attempts to identify it have failed, and it is probably a composite picture. Manchester and Preston have each been suggested, but Col. W. L. Gadd in *The Dickensian*, 1940, gives many reasons for rejecting Manchester, and Dickens in a letter to Peter Cunningham in March, 1850, wrote: " The title [*Hard Times*] was many weeks old and chapters of the story were written before I went to Preston or thought about the present strike "; he describes the Bull Hotel as an " old, grubby, smoky, mean, intensely formal red brick house, with a narrow gateway and a dingy yard."

3. WILLIAM BUTTON. A hippo-comedietta is a performance in a circus in which most of the characters act their parts on horse-back as described in Book iii, chap. vii. (Fancy the Babes in the Wood " goin' a blackberryin' on a horthe.") The Tailor's Journey to Brentford was doubtless one of these hippo-comediettas; Billy Button became the pet name or epithet for a small boy on getting his first pair of breeches.

4. MRS. GRUNDY. A character in T. Moreton's comedy " Speed the Plough " (1798). Mrs. Grundy never actually appears on the stage but her rivals and neighbours constantly remark: " What would Mrs. Grundy say? " She has passed into the language as the personification of a *censor morum*.

Chapter 4

1. STEEPLE CLOCK OF ST. GILES'S, LONDON. The mention of this church seems to indicate that Bounderby's early years were spent in London, and as the story goes on he shews more and more intimate acquaintance with the Metropolis. But from Mrs. Pegler's account in Book iii, chap. v., he was born only forty-nine miles from Coketown, and the only actual occasion on which he visited London was when Mrs. Sparsit followed him to his hotel in St. James's Street in Book iii, chap. iii. It may be, of course, that Dickens could not mentally get away from London; we know that he found difficulty in writing *The Chimes* while on a visit to the Continent; in Forster's words " he craved for the London streets."

2. ADAM SMITH AND MALTHUS. Dickens, an author, bestowed upon his children the names of authors he admired: Walter Landor, Francis Jeffery, Alfred Tennyson, Sydney Smith, Henry Fielding, and Edward Bulwer Lytton. It seems natural, therefore, that he should cause Gradgrind, the believer in FACTS, to name his children, one from Adam Smith the founder of Political Economy presented in an impersonal way as based on facts, and the other from Thomas Malthus, whose Essay on the Principle of Population is based on statistics and facts without any reference to human emotions.

Chapter 5

1. HEAD OF AN ELEPHANT. In steam machinery in the early days the power was transmitted from the piston to the crank-shaft by a huge working beam. This method has been superseded for most purposes but it survives in pumping stations and can be seen in most water-works where the " melancholy madness " of the elephant-like and elephantine beam-ends rise and fall monotonously as if they were hypnotised by their endless task.

2. THERE WAS AN OLD WOMAN. This is a very old nursery rhyme of the waggish nature that has always appealed to children.

3. NINE OILS. The recipe for this magical surgical dressing is given in " The House Book; or Family Chronical of Useful Knowledge and Cottage Physician; edited by William Scott, M.D." 1826: Train oil, 23 pints; camphorated spirit of wine, 1 pint; Barbados tar, 7 pints; oil of vitriol, 1 oz.; oil of turpentine, 6 pints; oil of amber, 1 pint; oil of bricks, 1 pint. There are only seven ingredients here, and it is suggested that some of the constituents contain more than one kind of oil; it must also be remembered that nine is a magical number, and the mixture may have derived some of its supposed efficacy from this fact. Oil of Bricks is mentioned in early pharmacopoeias. This information is supplied by Dr. E. A. Underwood, Director of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

Chapter 6

1. GOOD MALT MAKES GOOD BEER. Col. Gadd says that this verse was to be seen on the sign-board of the Malt Shovel Inn at the foot of Chatham Hill, Kent (see *Dickensian*, 1940). Similar

verses, sometimes topical and sometimes having a reference to the innkeeper's name have been used by inns for many generations, and several specimens are quoted in Larwood's *History of Sign-Boards.*

2. NEWMARKET COAT. A double-breasted overcoat affected by patrons of horse-racing, named after Newmarket which has been the "racing capital of England" since the thirteenth century.

3. CENTAUR. In Greek mythology a creature partly man and partly horse; Mr. Childers must have been a remarkable being indeed if his appearance corresponded with the description given.

4. STOW THAT. Pack it away; put it out of sight. A slang expression for "stop it."

5. PAY YOUR OCHRE. Ochre is a yellow pigment. The admission money to the travelling shows was usually made in copper coins.

6. DICK JONES OF WAPPING. Who Dick Jones was does not matter; what is significant is Bounderby's reference to Wapping in London.

7. BY THE LORD HARRY. The Lord Harry as a jocular name for the Devil is about three hundred years old. Congreve used this form of blusterous and yet rather innocuous oath.

8. ONE FIXED EYE. Oddness in eyes seems to have had some sort of fascination for Dickens. Newman Noggs in *Nicholas Nickleby* had "two goggle eyes whereof one was a fixture"; Captain Bunsby in *Dombey and Son* had "a stationery eye in the mahogany face"; Mr. Grummer in *Pickwick Papers* had "a wandering eye" so the other was presumably fixed; one of Zephaniah Scadder's eyes in *Martin Chuzzlewit* "had no sight in it and stood stock still."

9. MORRITHED. Sleary's pronunciation of morrised, a slang word for got away speedily or decamped. It may be derived from the capering steps of the Morris Dance, and is included in the New Canting Dictionary (eighteenth century). An instance of its use occurs in "She stoops to Conquer," by Goldsmith: "Zounds, here they are! Morrice! Prance!" The Artful Dodger in *Oliver Twist* adjures Oliver to morris.

10. I'LL POUND IT. A shortened form of "I'll wager a pound on it." Now practically obsolete.

CHAPTER 7

1. BLIND HOOKEY. A game of chance played with an ordinary pack of cards. After the deal, while the cards are still face downwards, each player puts the amount of his stake on his cards, at which he must not look. Hence the name *Blind* Hookey.

2. CORIOLANIAN. A roundabout way of saying that Mrs. Sparsit's nose was Roman.

3. HUNDRED A YEAR. Quite a handsome salary for a lady-housekeeper at that time.

4. CLAP-TRAP. Meretricious or cheap and practically worthless; a trap to catch the applause or claps of the unthinking.

5. PRINCES AND LORDS, ETC. Quoted from Goldsmith's "Deserted Village."

6. ITALIAN OPERA . . . ARCADE. The King's Theatre, at that time in Pall Mall, was opened in 1704. After varying fortunes the building was burnt down in 1789, reopened in 1791 and became the Italian Opera, the name by which Bounderby knew it. In 1837 the name was changed, in honour of the Coronation of Queen Victoria, to Her Majesty's Theatre. (In 1847 a number of the singers seceded and founded the *Royal* Italian Opera House, Covent Garden. "The Times" reported on the rival companies; Jenny Lind appeared at His Majesty's, and Alboni at Covent Garden.) Her Majesty's was burnt down again in 1867, then rebuilt, but finally demolished in 1892 on the expiration of the lease. The present His Majesty's Theatre occupies only part of the site, the corner plot in Pall Mall being taken by the Carlton Hotel. Through all the vicissitudes of the theatre's history the Royal Opera Arcade at the back of the original building and connecting Pall Mall and Charles Street has remained intact. But Bounderby lied, as usual, when he said he found the pavement a "hard bed" as the gates at both ends of the Arcade are closed and locked every night and a beadle acts as night-watchman.

7. MAYFAIR. That part of London bounded roughly by Oxford Street, Bond Street, Piccadilly, and Park Lane; named from an annual fair held every May. This fair was abolished in 1760 and the area built over to accommodate the fashionable classes; Shepherd's Market marks the original fairground.

8. DWARF AND HUNCHBACK. From the Arabian Nights; see also Chapter ix, note 2.

CHAPTER 8

1. DEFOE, EUCLID; GOLDSMITH, COCKER. These antitheses are revealing. Daniel Defoe, the first of the founders of English fiction (especially Robinson Crusoe) is well contrasted with the work of Euclid with his geometrical propositions strictly and logically expounded; Oliver Goldsmith's elegant fantasies (especially The Vicar of Wakefield), are contrasted with the arithmetical exactitudes of Henry Cocker.

2. LOOKING AT THE BRIGHT SPARKS. In spite of all the doctrines of fact, fact, fact, it is impossible to prevent anyone from dreaming and wondering, and one of the characteristics of Louisa was her meditation and thoughtfulness while gazing into the fire; and fire-gazing pervades the whole book till the final paragraph. This fascination of the fire is seen in others of Dickens's characters, for instance: Lizzie Hexham in *Our Mutual Friend,* Alice Brown in *Dombey and Son,* Redlaw in *The Haunted Man,* John Peerybingle in *The Cricket on the Hearth;* and there are more.

CHAPTER 9

1. TO DO UNTO OTHERS. This is part of the Answer in the Church Catechism to the question: "What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?" The Answer begins: "My duty towards my neighbour is to love him as myself, and to do to all men as I would they should do unto me . . ."

2. SULTAN WOULD LET THE LADY GO ON. Evidently recollecting his own attraction as a boy to the Arabian Nights Entertain-

ments, Dickens gives to Jupe the same pleasure that he had in the stories told by Scheherazade.

Chapter 10

1. BLACK LADDER. This is fact; the writer remembers seeing these funeral (and funereal) ladders kept in the East End of London at the undertaker's for use in circumstances similar to those described in the text.

Chapter 11

1. NETTING . . . COTTON STIRRUPS. Netting as a polite accomplishment for ladies has gone out of fashion. The stitches used were the same as those for the larger scale work of fishermen, and the " stirrup " on the foot was the equivalent of the hook on the wall used when making a fisherman's net. Mrs. Sparsit probably netted the mittens mentioned in Book ii, chap. 1. In chapter xvi she is engaged on *broderie anglaise.*

2. PLAYING OLD GOOSEBERRY. An expression for " playing the devil " dating from the eighteenth century. It means throwing things about, creating confusion, probably in allusion to the apparent disorder in the arrangement of the internal seeds or pips that fall out in a jumble when a gooseberry is squeezed.

3. DECENT FEWTRILS. Trifles, little things; now seldom used. Robert Burns in his poem " To a louse " has fettrils with the same meaning.

4. DOCTORS' COMMONS. Many are the references to Doctors' Commons in Dickens's books; he had spent two years there as a reporter in his youth. An excellent description is to be found in *Sketches by Boz* and a humorous one in *David Copperfield.* It was to Doctors' Commons that Jingle went to get the licence to marry Miss Wardle, and at the same Court Tony Weller was inveigled into his " second wentur." Daniel Doyce also went to Doctors' Commons for Little Dorrit's wedding licence. All the processes named by Bounderby were necessary in a suit for divorce in former days.

5. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF POUNDS. Bounderby's " relish " in mentioning a large sum of money reflects the same luscious roll of voice in which Bishop in *Little Dorrit* speaks of Merdle having " made another enormous hit. They say a Hundred Thousand Pounds." Or Buffer's gloating whisper of " Thir-ty Thou-sand Pou-nds " as the Lammles' fortune in *Our Mutual Friend.*

Chapter 12

1. BY PARLIAMENTARY. In the early days of railways, each company fixed its own fares—there were three classes—subject to Parliament's sanction; by the Regulation of Railways Act of 1844, which was never rescinded till the Railways were nationalised in 1947 " All railways in this country are compelled to run at least one train a day, serving every station, including closed carriages for third-class passengers, at a fare of *one penny a mile.*" Later the introduction of Workmen's tickets and the standardisation of fares did away with the necessity of special

Parliamentary trains; passengers used to ask for a ticket to their destination "parly" and could travel by any train having third-class accommodation. It was to this custom that Gilbert alludes in The Mikado (1889) in that monarch's desire to "make the punishment fit the crime":

"The idiot who, in railway carriages,
Scribbles on window panes,
We only suffer
To ride on a buffer
In Parliamentary trains."

2. SORT OF DIVINE RIGHT. The doctrine that arose during the Tudor period in the sixteenth century that Kings (in this case Bounderby at his Bank) held their office from on High and were independent of the will of the people governed, that they could do no wrong and must receive passive obedience from all.

3. TOWERS OF BABEL. The common idea of the Tower of Babel as a building that is lofty in proportion to the area of its base, as for instance the Tower of London, or a chimney-stack as in the text, or a church tower, is probably founded on a misconception. The reputed remains of the unfinished Tower of Babel, not far from Babylon on the river Euphrates, is a huge mound with sides about 600 feet long and 400 feet wide; had it been completed it would have been a pyramid and not an upstanding building like a chimney-stack.

CHAPTER 13

1. LET HIM WHO IS WITHOUT SIN. A very slight alteration of Jesus's words in the beautiful story told in St. John's Gospel, chapter viii: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

2. A DEEP GULF SET. An allusion to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus the beggar in St. Luke, xvi. Abraham says in reply to the rich man's appeal: "between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us that would come from thence."

3. SAVED MY SOUL ALIVE. Taken from Ezekiel, xviii, 27: "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." It is used as the first of the Opening Sentences at Morning and at Evening Prayer in the Church Liturgy; Dickens makes it the theme of the *Mystery of Edwin Drood*.

CHAPTER 15

1. ROUND NUMBERS. Round means without consideration of fractions; not exactly or precisely correct. If Louisa was in fact 20, five years have elapsed ("Time went on," chapter xiv) since her age was stated to be 15 or 16 in chapter iii. In chapter iv Bounderby is stated to be seven or eighty and forty; he is now therefore 52 or 53, so Mr. Gradgrind understates it at, in round

numbers, 50. For a man who was devoted to FACTS, it seems rather ambiguous; was there any motive?

Chapter 16

1. HAVE THE SKIN OFF HER NOSE. The ammonia in " the very strongest smelling salts " is corrosive and would easily blister the sensitive skin of one's nose. Bounderby with all his blustering humility was a little afraid of the gently bred Mrs. Sparsit, and like all cowards was spiteful and cruel. See his treatment of her fainting fit in Book iii, chapter 3.

2. ANNUAL COMPLIMENT. One of Dickens's tilts at superficial " genteelness." The mention of mere money such as earnings, salary or wages would be vulgar. Mrs. General in *Little Dorrit* receives the same consideration.

3. BREAD OF DEPENDENCE. Copied from the phrases in Holy Writ; Bread of Wickedness (Proverbs iv, 17); Bread of Sorrows —Carefulness in the Prayer Book version—(Psalm cxxviii, 3); Bread of Idleness (Proverbs xxxi, 27).

Book II

Chapter 1

1. PORTER LAID HIS HEAD. It was at one time the custom, as a measure of precaution, for the butler or his assistant to have his bed made every night with its head against the door of the strong-room where the family plate was stored.

2. NOT WORTH HIS SALT. That is not worth the salary or pay that he draws. Salt is a word practically the same in all western languages. This necessity of life was not always plentiful everywhere and in many countries was subject to taxation. In the Roman Empire the soldiers on service were provided with their basic rations but had to find their own salt; their pay was therefor known as salarium (salt-money) from which we get our word salary.

Chapter 2

1. THE GRACES. These goddesses were Euphrosyne (the joyous one), Aglaia (the bright one), and Thalia (the good-tempered, laughing one). They were the daughters of Jupiter (Zeus) who " enhanced the enjoyment of life by refinement and gentleness " (Smith). They embodied beauty and charm, in other words were the very antithesis of all that FACT and materialism stood for. No wonder the Gradgrind school wanted to " cut their throats." Dickens had at Gad's Hill Place a small copy of the marble group of the Three Graces by Canova. In *Bleak House* Phiz included The Three Graces in the illustration of Harold Skimpole's room (chapter vi).

2. DIRTY RIFF-RAFF. The rabble; from Old French *rif et raf*, meaning scrapings or plunder. Dirty expresses the same thought as the epithet unsoaped, bestowed by Dickens on the rabble of Ipswich in *Pickwick Papers*.

3. TAG, RAG AND BOBTAIL. A synonym of riff-raff or rabble. Brewer says that the words were originally the name of mongrel dogs, shaggy and unkempt.

(To be continued)

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND

(WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£	s.	d.	*Branch Total to date* £	s.	d.
Christchurch	11	0	0	44	16	0
Manchester—Miss L. Norquay (sale of blotters)	1	1	0	245	7	9
Nottingham—Mrs. Giles: Lecture	0	10	6	269	17	6
Palos Verdes	6	5	0	19	18	0
Portsmouth—The Hide Family	0	10	0	7	5	0
Rugby—Mrs. Hudson: Whist Drive	1	0	0	31	18	6
Southend—Mr. J. Greaves recital	2	2	0	179	6	0
HEADQUARTERS						
Proceeds: "Dickens and Music" programme	18	12	0			
Sale of books	10	0	0			
Mr. J. Greaves: recitals	8	18	6			
The late Sir George Sutton's Estate	8	0	0			
Sale of Badges	6	7	5			
Mr. W. A. MacGreger: lecture	3	3	0			
Miss Ruth Whittaker: lecture	1	1	0			
Mrs. Bacon, per Miss Bullen	0	10	0			
Mr. W. F. Gambrill	0	3	0	1796	10	10

Total to date: £7,567 9*s.* 2*d.*

RECENT DICKENSIANA

"Elizabeth Gaskell: Her Life and Work." A. B. Hopkins. John Lehmann. 21*s.*

"Wilkie Collins." Robert Ashley. Arthur Barker. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"Dickens and *The Daily News:* the Early Issues." Gerald G. Grubb.

"Dickens's Notebooks and *Edwin Drood.*" George H. Ford. 19*th Cent. Fiction.* March.

"Charles Dickens and R. H. Horne." K. J. Fielding. *English.* Spring Number.

"New Light on Charles Dickens." John Butt. *The Listener,* February 28th.

A warm welcome is offered to the following overseas visitors, Mr. Frank J. Laube of Seattle, and Miss S. Buckmaster of Sydney.

OBITUARY

Geörge Panzetta. On March 25th, aged 87. Well remembered as playing leading parts in his wife's popular adaptations from Dickens at Whitefield's Tabernacle, London, before the war.

Frank Speaight. On April 5th, at Folkestone. One of the best known elocutionists whose recitals from Dickens were so popular thirty or more years ago.

Dr. Henry Johnson. On April 12th at his home in Westcliff-on-Sea. A widely loved member of Headquarters, and St. Pancras and Southend Branches of the Dickens Fellowship, where he will be sadly missed.

We also regret to announce the death of Miss Violetta Henke and Mrs. Henry D. Hughes of Philadelphia, Mr. Fowler of Preston, Miss Freeling, Mrs. Bixby, Mrs. A. Jones of Birmingham, and Miss Marion Simons, Vice-President of the Adelaide Branch.

d'ORSAY'S PORTRAITS OF DICKENS

In our number dated March, 1951 we reproduced two portraits of Dickens, pencil drawings by Count d'Orsay, which had been purchased by Count de Suzannet not long before his death. One dated 16 Dec. 1841, is well known and has been reproduced many times and the other, dated 28 Dec. 1842, was then reproduced for the first time.

Mr. K. J. Fielding has kindly pointed out to us that in the Huntington Library, California, are two letters of Count d'Orsay to Dickens, which have interesting reference to one of these drawings. They are published here by courtesy of the librarian.

They would seem to indicate that d'Orsay did a third drawing, for he expresses his dissatisfaction with one of them in the following letter, dated December 11th, 1941, and asked for another sitting. The familiar portrait dated 16 Dec. 1841 is no doubt the result. What, we wonder, has become of the unsatisfactory drawing, for the second one in Count de Suzannet's collection is dated 28 Dec. 1842.

EDITOR.

Saturday
11 Decb. 1841

My Dear Dickens

I am so dissatisfied with the Sketch I have made of you, that I am most anxious to try my pencil again—knowing how busily occupied your mornings are, it will perhaps be more convenient to you, and certainly more agreeable to us, if you will name a day to dine at Gore House. I have set my heart on giving the representation of the outside of a head, the inside of which, has furnished delight to countless Thousands so you must forgive me if I take up so much of your time.

I have just received some warm neck wrappery from Paris. Will you accept the one I send which may when you are pacing the deck when crossing the Atlantic remind you of your affectionate & sincere

A. d'Orsay.

P.S. Name your day. I will ask Elliotson, Forster & Maclise.

The other letter reads:

13 Decb. 1841

My Dear Dickens

Any day this week at two o'clock you will find me.

Yours most faithfully

A. d'Orsay.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

Contributions for this page are invited. Press cuttings not acceptable.

MANCHESTER

The Manchester Branch has just completed a very successful year under the genial leadership of Mr. Samuel Cusick. Our total membership at the beginning of our 49th season stands at 131, and varies only very slightly from year to year. With one exception (a lively debate between members of the Blackburn

and Manchester branches), our syllabus for the past winter was made up entirely of contributions by our own members, twenty-four of whom took part in the programmes; these included introductory talks and papers based on the books chosen for special study, with readings, recitals and miscellaneous short papers of Dickensian interest. Many recitals and talks have been given by members to other organisations, such as Church Clubs and Youth Fellowships, in Lancashire and Cheshire. The Branch continues to hold itself responsible for the library in the Manchester Northern Hospital, where over 2,600 books have been distributed to patients during the past twelve months. The Branch has been represented by its honorary secretary at the half-yearly meetings of Headquarters Council and its President and other members have attended Birthday celebrations and meetings of other Branches in the N.W. Regional Group. Representatives of other Branches were entertained at the Manchester Birthday Dinner. Twenty-seven members attended the Regional Group Conference held in Blackburn on April 26th, and it is expected that upwards of twenty delegates will represent " Branch No. 4 " at the Jubilee Conference in September.—A.M.P.

BRISTOL

This year sees the Jubilee of the Bristol and Clifton Dickens Society, which was founded on April 2nd, 1902, six months before the Dickens Fellowship, to which it later became affiliated. It grew out of the fertile brain of J. W. T. Ley to whom the Fellowship also owes so much. But his career did not permit him to remain long in Bristol and his work was carried on by the late J. A. Tonkin and many others. Of the founder members, two happily remain, Mrs. L. A. F. Tonkin and Miss N. Bruford. The work of the society has been mainly dramatic and considerable sums have been raised for charities.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

The Edmonton Branch has undertaken the equipment of the Reception Room of the Crippled Children's Hospital at Calgary, two hundred miles away, and a plaque commemorating the fact is to be placed in it.

MARINETTE, WISCONSIN

The Branch recently presented a bust of Charles Dickens, which came from the Dickens House in London, to the Stephenson Public Library, in commemoration of the late Hazel Laing, a valued member of many years standing.

PALOS VERDES, CALIFORNIA

The season included a highly successful Birthday Luncheon at which the tribute to Dickens was paid by Mrs. Alice Patterson. The President, Mrs. Ellen Kahler, was in the chair.

The congratulations and thanks of the Fellowship are offered to the following new and retiring Secretaries: Mr. H. Garner and Miss A. Butler of Rochester, Mrs. E. S. Colton and Mrs. H. Donaldson Jordan of Worcester, Mass., and Miss M. A. Cameron and Mr. J. Douglas Masters of Edinburgh.

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The Dickens Fellowship

LONDON MEETINGS

Sunday June 8th. The eve of the 82nd anniversary of the death of Charles Dickens. A wreath will be placed on the grave in Westminster Abbey, by permission of the Dean, at 6 p.m. Meet at the West Door at 5·45. Seats will be reserved for members of the Fellowship at Evensong at 6.30, at which the sermon will have special reference to Dickens. Names of those wishing to attend the service should be sent to the Hon. Secretary.

Saturday June 21st. Annual pilgrimage. "Bye-ways in Kentish Dickensland." Tickets 25*s.* including lunch and tea. Visiting Chalk, Cooling, Cobham and the Chalet.

Saturday, July 12th. "Mrs. Nickleby's Garden Party," at "Alabama," Colney Hatch Lane. Tickets 2/6, including tea, from the Dickens House.

SEPTEMBER

JUBILEE AND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

see page 97

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

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